

L I B R A R Y

**B O S T O N
U N I V E R S I T Y**



**COLLEGE
BUSINESS
ADMINISTRATION**

Class No. * 917.29
Book No. A21
Acc. No. 24897
Date 8-21-36

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

REPORT OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

ON THE

ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL

OPERATIONS OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOR THE YEAR ENDING

DECEMBER 31, 1964

1965

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(1) "Intervention in Latin America", Lamar Benson, Introduction, p. 3.

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the people of this country have formed their opinions and reached their conclusions on the basis of so little definite information, on which so large a part of our own people are so ill-informed." (1)

Many of the Latin American republics have been victims of an insidious and selfish propaganda, and now, as never before, is felt the urgent need of educating the American people to the true facts about these countries. To many of us, the South American republics are "just countries where there is a revolution every day", and we often look upon them with contempt, forgetting, or not knowing about the contrast between the case of the Spanish colonies which won their political independence from Spain and that of the English colonies which became the United States.

The English colonies possessed almost complete political freedom before the Revolution, and were led to revolt through fear that they might in course of time be dispossessed of it. The English colonists were men of consummate political training -- the banks -- have become intensely interested

(1) "Intervention in Latin America", Lamer Beman, Introduction, p. 5.

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(1) "Intervention in Latin America", James Beman,
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who had inherited the knowledge of free institutions for more than a thousand years. On the other hand, the Latin Americans, under the Spanish regime, had little opportunity for acquiring experience in the working of free political institutions. Their lack of experience in self-government has been the chief reason for the lack of stability in Latin America, but the stability of her political institutions is growing by leaps and bounds.

In dealing with these Southern republics, therefore, it is our duty to remember that, regardless of race, creed or color, it is only fair to "Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar". But, aside from this, there are material or economic reasons which make it necessary that a more general knowledge about these countries be spread throughout the United States. This is particularly so in regard to the Caribbean countries, as corroborated by the fact that "the business public of the United States, the manufacturers, the farmers, the exporters and importers, the people engaged in transportation, and the people supplying funds for all these industries -- the banks -- have become intensely interested

(1) "Trading with our Neighbors in the Caribbean",
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in conditions present and prospective of the industries, transportation and finance in the Caribbean countries". (1)

These countries produce almost exclusively tropical growths: sugar, coffee, cacao, tobacco, fruits, cocoanuts, etc., as well as many other articles which the temperate zone must have. In exchange they must have certain temperate zone products: meats, breadstuffs, clothing, and manufactures of all kinds, for, so far, the manufacturing industries have not thriven, to any appreciable extent, in the tropics.

We can better judge the commercial importance of these Caribbean countries if we consider that in imports into the United States from Latin America during the calendar years 1932, 1933 and 1934, Puerto Rico occupies the second place and Cuba the third. In exports from the United States, Puerto Rico occupies the first place and Cuba the third. In the exterior trade of the United States during the same years, Puerto Rico occupies the 9th place and Cuba the 14th, and in shipments to the largest of these islands is Cuba. Puerto Rico belongs

(1) "Trading with our Neighbors in the Caribbean", Oscar P. Austin, p. 18.

(2) "The Romance and Rise of the American Tropics", Foreword, p. 7.

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IV - SPAIN IN THE NEW WORLD

II - THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES DEFINED

The Caribbean countries may be defined as those bordering on the Caribbean Sea. "This sea results from the enclosing of a great stretch of the Atlantic Ocean by a chain of islands reaching, roughly, from north of the Orinoco River in Venezuela in South America to Florida in North America. The largest of these islands is Cuba. Puerto Rico belongs

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In this paper I shall deal with the Spanish West Indies only. The term includes the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo.

IV - SPAIN IN THE NEW WORLD

I believe it impossible to write in detail about the development of these islands without giving long and careful consideration to the part played by Spain in their early history.

In this connection, it is exasperating to note that most historians are unwilling to give Spain the credit due her for her early efforts in spreading Christianity and civilization in the New World. Many

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of them have been virulent and bitter, and notoriously unjust, in their criticism of Spanish colonization, forgetting that "the Spaniards built the first cities, schools and churches", that "they brought the first printing presses and made the first books", that "they wrote the first dictionaries, histories and geography", that "they transplanted here some of the best attributes of the Old World civilization generations before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock and three Spanish universities in the New World were rounding out a century of cultural existence before Harvard College was founded". (1)

It is gratifying, therefore, to find one or two historians who look impartially upon the country which, in the history of nations, stands foremost as the discoverer, conqueror and colonizer of new lands.

"Whatever may be said of the men who, moved principally by the restless spirit of adventure which was the dominant characteristic of that period, discovered and conquered the New World", says Arturo Cuyas (2), "the paternal solicitude and care of the

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"No attempt shall be made here to excuse, palliate or condone the heinous deeds of some of the men who first set foot in America", says this impartial historian. "Taken by themselves, they should be strongly condemned, but such individual misdeeds should not be imputed to the whole Spanish nation, nor be made the only salient feature of early Spanish colonization.

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"If we are to be guided by strict logic, it would be difficult to condemn the Spaniards for the mere act of conquering Mexico without involving in the same condemnation our own forefathers, who crossed the ocean and overran the territory of the United States, with small regard for the proprietary rights of Algonquins or Iroquois, or red men of any sort."

John Carter, in his "Conquest, America's Painless Imperialism" (1), writes as follows:

"Spain rapidly acquired, through discovery and conquest, a great colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere. It has long been fashionable to sneer at the Spaniards as bad colonists; yet it is noteworthy that the Spanish-American colonies held their allegiance a full century longer than the British colonies. Before dismissing the Spaniards as incompetent, it is also advisable to note that

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"Spain's engines of empire were two-fold: the Roman Catholic faith, a moral idea, and the Spanish system of municipal home rule, a physical (political?) technique. The colonies were under the direct supervision of the Council of the Indies, which nominated both the temporal and spiritual authorities of New Spain. Spanish rule in America was thus a diarchy, much of the burden of administration being borne by the Church. The colonial municipalities (1) enjoyed extensive powers, electing a majority of their own magistrates. They even had some authority over the surrounding country. The fine traditions of Spanish urban

(1) "The Spanish 'municipio', like the New England township, includes the surrounding territory. The centre of administration is the 'pueblo' or 'poblacion', while the minor divisions or 'barrios' correspond to the 'suburbs' or 'undeveloped sections'. County government, in the American sense, does not exist, but its functions are divided between the 'municipio' and the central (Colonial or national) authorities." Dr. M. H. Donaldson's "notes". (See page 164).

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(1) Cuba has borne successively the names of Juana, in honor of Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella; Fernandina, Santiago, and Ave Maria, coming back finally to the aboriginal name, "Cuba".

(2) "Providence works in strange ways. There seems to be no doubt that the flight of a flock of land birds, in conjunction with the discontent of his crews, diverted Columbus' course so that he first sighted and landed upon an insignificant island (the island called by the natives Guanahani, renamed by Columbus San Salvador, The Savior), instead of upon the Florida coast to which Spain would then have had first claim as discoverer with all the consequences ensuing. Through that turn southward Spain gained Cuba and San Domingo, and lost North America." Grose "Advance in the Antillas", pp.7-8.

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CHAPTER ONE

CUBA (1)

I - HISTORY

Cuba, "the most beautiful island that human eyes ever beheld", was discovered by Columbus in 1492. (2). It was settled in 1511 by Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, who founded Santiago in 1514, and in 1519 the present city of Havana was established. This settlement soon became the foremost town in the Island and the center of government. It is worth while mentioning here that "in spite of the typically cruel government exercised from the first", this colony remained until 1898 the "Ever Faithful Isle".

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(2) "Providence works in strange ways. There seems to be no doubt that the flight of a flock of land birds, in conjunction with the discontent of his crews, diverted Columbus' course so that he first sighted and landed upon an insignificant island (the island called by the natives Guanahani, renamed by Columbus San Salvador, The Savior), instead of upon the Florida coast to which Spain would then have had first claim as discoverer with all the consequences ensuing. Through that turn southward Spain gained Cuba and San Domingo, and lost North America." Grose "Advance in the Antilles", pp.7-9.

CHAPTER ONE

CUBA (I)

I - HISTORY

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The Spaniards reduced the natives to slavery, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the race was almost extinct. (1) This required the introduction of negroes from Africa. Havana was destroyed by the French in 1534 and again in 1554 and was captured by the Dutch in 1624, but it was immediately restored and thereafter was repeatedly the prey of filibusters and pirates.

During the 18th century Cuba was exploited by a line of vicious and oppressive governor generals, but after the Seven Years' War (2) during which England had captured the island only to return it to Spain in 1763 (3), prosperity ruled and the resources of

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Cuba were developed. (1) The island was attractive to American statesmen, especially those of the South as a field for the extension of slavery, and it was the secret ambition of many American presidents to gain control of it by purchase. Finally, in 1848 Cuba by force if Spain refused to sell it. Nothing came of these efforts. This manifesto, while drawn

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President Polk offered \$100,000,000 to Spain but it was refused. In 1854 eminent American ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain, among whom was James Buchanan (1), united in drawing up the Ostend Manifesto which urged the United States to annex Cuba by force if Spain refused to sell it. Nothing came of these efforts. This manifesto, while drawn up at the direction of President Pierce, turned out to be a document of the pro-slavery party. It was not approved in the United States.

In the meantime, the people of Cuba were striving to abolish slavery and to gain their independence. Many insurrections occurred, notably those of 1849 and 1854 which though causing great suffering accomplished little. Finally in 1868 began a ten year struggle which extorted from the Spanish government the promise of liberal government, representation in the Spanish Parliament and encouragement of industry. (2). These promises, however, were

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disapproved of by the Conservatives in Spain and Campos was unable to persuade the Reactionary Party to keep faith with the Cubans. After months of bitter debates and personal attacks in which the Cuban cause was lost to view in a cloud of recriminations, Campos made way for Canovas who, knowing the feeling in the country refused to consider the projects for Cuban autonomy. In the end the promises made to the Cubans were all broken." (1)

Campos was succeeded by Weyler who undertook such savage measures that sympathy was aroused for the Cubans throughout the world, and especially in the United States. Cuba in the meantime had frequently requested the United States to interfere in its behalf and the time seemed opportune for such interference when an American warship, the Maine, was destroyed in Havana harbor February 15, 1898, by some mysterious cause which the American people believed to be known to Spain. In this tremendous explosion, nearly 300 men were killed or wounded. "To disbelieve the telegraphed messages of condolence from General

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Blanco and from the Queen Regent of Spain would show a lack not only of courtesy but of poor judgment. The Spanish government had lost \$100,000 in Cuba. It was on the verge of bankruptcy. It hardly knew where to go in Europe to borrow another peseta. Is it likely, then, to have been eager for a war with the United States? But whatever may be the true explanation of this mystery, it can hardly be seriously maintained that the destruction of this battleship was of itself justification for going to war. (1) The causes which impelled the United States to war on this occasion were of two kinds, the one eminently discreditable, the other eminently creditable. When a great people is impelled to so serious an enterprise as war we may be certain that there are selfish causes at work as well as disinterested ones. There is the average politician eager to be on what he believes the popular side; there is the prospect of appointments to be made to the multitude of new places to be created and of large expenditures Spanish bonds were held in their country. The hostility of the Germans, which was less strongly

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involving contracts to be awarded to those who have political influence. There were in the present case troublesome issues such as the currency and the protective tariff which might be shelved for a short time and perhaps find their solution in the new exigencies of international conflict. There were the burning questions of Civil Service Reform and of Municipal misgovernment which could be brushed aside in the sweep of patriotic emotion. All these naturally rendered the political leaders eager to arouse popular passion and the two parties rivalled each other in the cheap patriotism of hurrying the nation into war. The attitudes assumed by the great European powers at this juncture are worthy of notice. Upon the continent of Europe the only nation friendly to the United States seems to have been Italy. The French showed such a strong sympathy with Spain that Americans in Paris were subjected to frequent insults at hotels and on the streets. It has been suggested that this attitude of the French may have been due to the fact that so many of the Spanish bonds were held in their country. The hostility of the Germans, which was less strongly

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pronounced, was thought to have some discernible connection with tariffs and sausages. A few half smothered grunts from the Russian bear seemed to indicate lack of sympathy with us, not wholly unconnected, perhaps, with the fact that American interests in the Pacific Ocean seemed to be becoming visibly identical with Japanese. On the other hand, the attitude of Great Britain was so cordial that it at once tied the hands of the continental powers. But for this, it is not unlikely that France might have interfered counting upon the support of Russia, as well as of Austria, whose sympathy for the Spaniards was chiefly due to an alliance between the dynasties.(1)

But any such intervention was liable to open the door for an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, something which none of the continental powers were willing to see. Thus when war was declared on the 21st of April the United States and Spain were left confronting one another and the issue of any conflict between the two could not possibly be doubtful. So great indeed was the disparity of

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force as to leave little room for military glory in the victory of the United States and little room for shame in the defeat of Spain." (1) Yet, "most Americans then felt that only heroism and luck combined could win. We (the Americans) were badly scared and saw Spanish spies behind every bush." (2)

A - THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION

By the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, Spain relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba. The United States temporarily occupied the island. A constitutional convention was called in 1901, and a constitution was adopted (3), including a special

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(2) Professor M. H. Donaldson's "Notes".

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(See "The New Constitution", Page
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amendment known as the Platt Amendment (1) proposed by the Congress of the United States to guarantee that the government should never enter into any treaty with a foreign power which would impair the independence of the island; that it should not assume any debt for the payment of which it could not provide; that the United States could interfere to preserve the independence of the island or to protect life, property or individual liberty; and that the United States be given certain coaling and naval stations. (2)

In December, 1901, the first president was elected in the person of Thomas Estrada Palma and on May 20, 1902, the United States formally withdrew.

In 1906 an insurrection broke out headed by a defeated candidate for president. The Cuban army was powerless and social order in some provinces was almost destroyed. The United States, therefore,

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interfered and sent a commission headed by Hon. W. H. Taft (1), Secretary of War, to the island. This commission tried to reconcile the opposing factions but without success. President Palma resigned and the Cuban Congress failed to elect a successor. Thereupon Secretary Taft issued a proclamation placing the republic under military government, and under the control of the United States, order was immediately restored. The United States government in again assuming control of the island made it very plain that the control would continue only until the people of Cuba were again in condition to proceed peaceably with the new election and the government could be transferred to the officials thus chosen. A national election was held in November 14, 1908, and General Jose Miguel Gomez was chosen president. On January 13, 1909, President Gomez was inaugurated. On January 13 the United

General Gerardo Machado, elected president of Cuba May 20, 1925, and reelected for a term of May 31, 1935. This treaty superseded that of May 22, 1903 and abandoned the right of the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of Cuba under the so-called Platt Amendment. Under the authority of this treaty the United States had intervened on five occasions." "The World Almanac", 1935, pp.628-28. "Cuba was probably foolish to give up the Platt Amendment. It tied America securely to her -- which the new arrangement does not." M. H. Donaldson.

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States troops began to withdraw and in April the last detachment departed leaving the Cuban republic again under control of its own government. Trouble occurred again over the elections of November, 1916, when M. G. Menocal, the conservative candidate, was chosen president. The opposition party under the leadership of ex-president Gomez revolted and in February 1918 seized Santiago de Cuba, the capital city of Oriente. In March Commander Belknap, head of American Naval Affairs at Santiago landed 400 American marines to protect American interests and to support the Cuban government in the reestablishment of order. The revolt subsided and Menocal took the oath of office on May 20.

B - THE MACHADO REGIME

General Gerardo Machado, elected president of Cuba May 20, 1925, and re-elected for a term of six years in November, 1928, was ousted August 12, 1933, after facing violent political opposition and armed rebellion for over four years during which terrorism had been matched with terrorism.

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"Machado, who had few scruples and knew that politics was an industry," wrote the "North American Review" on September, 1935 (1), "sought by every means fair or foul to keep himself and his coterie in power. He used the army, the porra, foreign loans and other devices to eliminate his opponents and to keep his pocket lined with loyalty-producing gold. His technique was barbarous. Men and boys were killed, exiled, castrated and mutilated. Schools and labor unions were closed or dissolved. Much of the hatred heaped on Machado's head was caused by the alleged support which he received from the American State Department, for his backing by American banks and for the Platt Amendment which theoretically precluded a successful revolution against him. In this way he became a symbol not only of his own villany but of an immoral imperialism which backed him."

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"The University of Havana and the normal and high schools had been closed during political disturbances in 1930, since the government regarded them as centers of disaffection, and had not been permitted to reopen. Faculty members and former students of these institutions were conspicuous opponents of the Machado regime. There was also strong opposition from a secret organization known as the ABC, composed largely of young men not previously affiliated with older political groups. The ABC favored an extremely nationalistic policy and was hostile to American influence. It also demanded the division of the large sugar estates into small independent holdings.

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could hold his position only so long as his troops remained loyal. They were not long in showing that they had shifted sides. On August 11 officers of the army seized the forts in the vicinity of Havana and demanded the President's resignation by noon of the following day. Leaders of this coup d'etat declared that their only purpose was to prevent American intervention, which they believed President Machado intended to provoke. At dawn on the 12th, President Machado departed secretly from Havana to his country estate, and on the afternoon of the same day left by airplane for Nassau. Before his departure he asked the Cuban Congress for 'a simple leave of absence', so as to legalize the selection of Dr. de Cespedes as President pro tem. But to this he added: 'my resignation is hereby to take effect in due course'. The petition was unanimously approved."

Shortly after Machado's flight, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes became provisional president with a coalition cabinet and with the promise of elections. He was promptly recognized by the United States. But on September 4, through a mutiny in the army, the irrepressible and inevitable eruption of the underlying

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revolution took place. President Cespedes was overthrown and the left wing students of the University and others took over the government with the popular professor of Anatomy, Doctor Ramon Grau San Martin, at their head. He was not recognized. (1). "A cordon of 29 American battleships soon encircled Cuba and this man who had had no following, became a popular hero. He had bucked the American State Department; he had defied its authority and had overthrown a government alledged to have been 'made in the American Embassy'. Prolonged lack of American recognition, however, ruined Grau. Yet his administration, according to Hudson Strode, to the eleven American scholars who wrote the Foreign Policy Association report on Cuba, to Carleton Beals, to Earnest Gruening, to Hubert Herring and to a host of others, it was the first 'truly Cuban government in Cuban history', the 'only one which struck at Communism at its roots'. He resigned and on January 18, 1934, Colonel Carlos Mendieta became the provisional president of Cuba." (2)

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C - THE MENDIETA REGIME

"In spite of improvement in the economic conditions in Cuba, the political and social situation of the island has steadily decayed. Today the Cubans find themselves more frustrated and balked than under Machado. Directly and indirectly our policy (American) is responsible. It is unnecessary to recite in detail all that has taken place under Mendieta. Bombs and terrorism increased. Constitutional guarantees were suspended, first in Havana, then in the island as a whole. For the first time in Cuba's history a military dictatorship, though thinly veiled behind a civilian government, slowly but surely has come to dominate the island. At Camp Colombia, the very astute and able former Sargeant and at present Colonel Fulgencio Batista, holds the destiny of his country in his hands. The army has been increased. Its quarters have been improved. It receives one third of the national budget for its maintenance, more than \$20,000,000, while the schools have received less and less support until there are neither pencils to write with, nor benches for the students to sit on. In March, 1935, just as the American State Department had universally announced that certain critics of

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its policy were wrong in stating that there was almost universal opposition to the Mendieta regime and that actually only 10% of the Cubans opposed Mendieta, practically every student and teacher in the island walked out in a strike against conditions in the schools, public employees left their jobs and many labor unions did the same. The whole island was tied up and Mendieta began to totter. The strike was put down by the use of the most repressive measures ever employed in the history of Cuba. Twenty were killed, 700 or more were imprisoned and as many more had to flee for their life.....Thus the social revolution in Cuba has been frustrated. The moral support of the American State Department is in no small part responsible. This can have only one result as far as the United States is concerned: Anti-Americanism growth in Cuba. How this will affect more than one billion dollars of American money invested in the island, only time will tell." (1)

Why, then, we may ask, has he not been overthrown? The following article, taken from "Current History", August, 1935 (2), is the reply:

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"President Carlos Mendieta and Colonel Fulgencio Batista have ruled Cuba for 18 months without benefit of constitution. There had been no semblance of constitutional order since August 12, 1933, when Gerardo Machado fled in airplane. The Congress which did his bidding also fled, went to jail, or dropped out of sight. Now at last Cuba again has a constitution. On June 11 the original constitution of 1901 was resurrected and signed by President Mendieta and the members of his cabinet and the Council of State. The instrument under which Cuba will again achieve constitutional status includes provision for general elections in December and legalizes the National Sanctions Court, a military tribunal which has apportioned death sentences to political dissenters with rather lavish hand. The promise of the restoration of constitutional procedure evoked little enthusiasm on the island. Cynical memories of previous constitutional regimes and profound distrust of the present rulers dominate whatever there is of a public mind. Cubans close to the government aver that enthusiasm for the constitution centers in the American Embassy and that but for the Ambassador, Jefferson Caffery, Cuba would continue in its extra-

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constitutional way for a good while to come. Not many Cubans believe that the United States proposes to keep hands off. They are convinced that as long as American citizens own the bulk of the productive wealth of the island, the United States will whenever Cuba shows signs of again being disorderly, force the island into good behavior through military or diplomatic intervention. They believe that the only way in which Cuba can escape American domination is by being good -- that is, by being constitutional. This is the argument which impels many of them to shout, with muffled enthusiasm, for the constitution and the elections scheduled for December."

About Mendieta's regime, it is interesting to note what two other North American papers have to say:

"The new president Mendieta was the head of the Nationalist Union, a minor offshoot of the Machado Liberal Party. Included in the new set-up were the thoroughly discredited Menocal conservatives, out of power for over 14 years and the Jose Mariano Gomez group of greedy job hunters -- also an offshoot of the Machado liberal party. The fourth element in

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"The new president Mendizábal was the head of the Nationalist Union, a minor offshoot of the Machado Liberal Party. Included in the new set-up were the thoroughly discredited Machado conservatives, out of power for over 14 years and the José Mariano Gómez group of greedy job hunters -- also an offshoot of the Machado Liberal party. The fourth element in

the new coalition was the ABC (1). Thus with the sympathy and encouragement of the American government, the reins were handed over to the old crowd and all the real partisans of new Cuba were shoved into the discard. The Mendieta government began a tempestuous career. Opposition worse than ever Machado knew soon wrecked Mendieta's government from without. He was faced by over twenty major strikes. Three of them were general strikes. 2,500 bombs went off with numerous deaths and injuries. One attempt was made to assassinate Mendieta, three to assassinate Batista. Fifteen army plots were suppressed. Martial law has had to be invoked in the sugar regions for the entire harvest period. (2). In the turmoil every governed Cuba, narrower by far than that of Machado.

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(1) This party was organized by Dr. Antonio Cuiteras, "the only truly noble figure in all these struggles", according to "The Nation", August 7, 1935. This man, the most brilliant and feared member of the Grau Cabinet and the most dangerous foe of the Mendieta-Batista regime, after the expulsion of Grau from the presidency, broke with his former chief. Later he was credited with complicity in the kidnap of Eutemio Falla Bonet, member of a prominent Machadista family for whose release a ransom of \$300,000 was paid. A detachment of the army cornered and shot Cuiteras near Matanzas on May 8, 1935, just as he was preparing to scape to the United States.

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"The Mendieta Government, which was set up as a Government acceptable to the United States, if not to the Cuban people," said "The Nation",⁽²⁾ "is today the narrowest, most unpopular clique that has ever governed Cuba, narrower by far than that of Machado. Every political expression of Young Cuba has been routed, their leaders jailed, exiled, murdered."

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had declared in force in place of the so-called Machado constitution. This guaranteed personal rights, habeas corpus, free assembly and free press, full woman suffrage and provided for the election of delegates to a constituent assembly before December 31, 1934, which eliminated the death penalty. On April 12 provisions were written restricting the jurisdiction of military courts to military cases and permitting confiscation of property of officials who had misappropriated public funds.

D - UNIQUE CONTRAST IN THE ERA OF CUBAN HISTORY

In concluding this summary of the development of the Cuban government, I quote at length from "The History of Cuba" (1):

"The era of Cuban history which embraced part of the 17th, the 18th and part of the 19th centuries presents a striking and almost unique contrast to the customary course of human affairs. The normal order of civic development begins with the rise and confirmation of nationality, and thence proceeds to international relationships and cosmopolitan interests and activities. Such was the record of other American states which grew

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"In Cuba the order was reversed. At first, as a colony of triumphant and masterful Spain, the island had neither national sentiment nor international interests. In the second stage, however, it became a pawn in the great international game which was being played between declining Spain and her increasingly powerful neighbors, actually for a time passing from Spanish to British possession, and often being regarded as likely to pass permanently into the hands of some other power than Spain.

"These circumstances had a marked effect upon the whole genius of the Cuban people. It gave them international vision before they had learned to discern themselves even as a potential nation. It gave them a degree of cosmopolitanism such as few comparable

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(1) The following contrast between Spanish and British colonies is taken from Cuyas' "The New Constitutional Laws for Cuba", pages 17-20:

"Abundant material could be found in history to prove that 'Spain cannot be denied the foremost place among colonizing nations'. While Spain's principal aim was to teach religion and good morals to the subjugated Indians, raising them to the level of the conquerors, Portugal, Holland and Great Britain for a long time considered their colonies only as profitable markets and treated the natives as slaves. Long after Spain, under Charles V, had decreed the freedom of the Indians and made them subjects of Spain, with the same rights as the Spanish born, the British introduced white slaves into America, who, as 'indented' and 'convict' servants were sold at forty or fifty pounds per head. The Dutch were

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"Financial Oppression of British colonists:
And as for financial oppression, never were the subjects of Spain in the New World so heavily and so unjustly taxed as were the British colonists by the Navigation Acts, the creation of the Oriental Companies, the bill of 1699 against woollens, and other oppressive measures. The Declaration of Independence of the thirteen colonies of North America, with its lists of grievances, stands as everlasting monument to the grasping, deaf and blind cupidity of Great Britain.

"There may have been men, viceroys and governors, who have abused the power given them by Spain to administer her laws in what was called the Indies, but to the Spanish Monarchs and the men who ruled the destinies of Spain the credit is due of having had lofty ideals and of having been guided by wise counsel in framing the laws which were to govern their subjects across the seas."

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"How much more, almost infinitely more, cause had Cubans for alienation from Spain! (1). She had given them no such protection. Her policy suggested always the possibility of their transfer in some way to some other sovereignty. And her misgovernment had been immeasurably worse than that of England. If Cuba was more patient than the Thirteen Colonies at the north, that was another of the paradoxes of history -- that the impulsive, hot-blooded Latin of the south should be more deliberate and conservative than the cool and phlegmatic Anglo-Saxon of the north.

"This very quality of patience was, indeed, the saving virtue of the Cuban character. Quijano Otero wrote of Colombia at the very time of her revolt against Spain and the establishment of her independence, that she 'had lived so fast in her years of glory and great deeds that, though still a child, she was already entering a premature decrepitude'. Not so Cuba. It is true that, she had imbibed enough of the spirit of Spain and of other lands to be measurably saturated

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"Half unconsciously, however, she had made an exceptionally complete preparation for the life that was to come as a nation. She had already become international in the scope of her vision, in the range of her sympathies, and in her intellectual and social culture. Many of her sons had studied abroad, acquiring the learning of the best European schools. If the world at large knew little about Cuba, Cuba knew much about the world at large."

II - GOVERNMENT

The government of Cuba is republican in form and differs but slightly from that of the United States. The head of the Administration is the President who must be a native Cuban or a naturalized

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"Half unconsciously, however, she had made an exceptionally complete preparation for the life that was to come as a nation. She had already become international in the scope of her vision, in the range of her sympathies, and in her intellectual and social culture. Many of her sons had studied abroad, acquiring the learning of the best European schools. If the world at large knew little about Cuba, Cuba knew much about the world at large."

II - GOVERNMENT

The Government of Cuba is republican in form and differs but slightly from that of the United States. The head of the Administration is the President who must be a native Cuban or a naturalized

citizen who served ten years in the Cuban army during the wars for independence. He is elected by popular vote. He appoints and removes members of his cabinet who are responsible to him for the administration of their departments. The legislative power is vested in a congress consisting of two houses, a senate and a house of representatives. The former contains four senators from each of the six provinces. The house of representatives consists of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants or fraction thereof more than 12,500. In 1918 the increase in population added seven representatives bringing the total to 121. They are elected for four years, one half retiring every two years. Congress holds annual sessions, controls the financial and foreign affairs of the republic and makes general laws for the administration of the government as well as of some phases of provincial government.

The island is divided into six provinces: Havana, Matanzas, Pinar del Rio, Camaguey, Santa Clara and Oriente. Each province has a governor and an assembly both elected by the people for a period of three years. There is a supreme court

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for the interpretation of the constitution, its judges being appointed by the President with the approval of the senate. Every male Cuban over 20 years of age and not mentally incapacitated or convicted of crime, or Spanish residents who have been on the island since April 11, 1899, and all foreigners who have resided since January 1, 1899, are entitled to franchise. Foreigners who have taken up their residence there since January 1, 1899, are required to show five years residence for naturalization.

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III - THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF CUBA (1)

Signed by Provisional President Carlos Mendieta, the members of his cabinet and the Council of State, a new constitution was promulgated in Cuba on June 12, 1935. Its enactment set aside the provisional constitution of February 3, 1932, and restores that of 1901 "without other modifications than those required by the necessity of embodying in it the objectives gained by the revolution."

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after Cuba became an independent nation, was extensively amended in 1928 to permit President Machado to extend his term of office. With the overthrow of the Machado regime in August, 1933, these amendments were abrogated by Provisional President Carlos Manuel de Cespedes and the constitution restored to its original form. However, when the de Cespedes regime was in turn overthrown in September, 1933, the government, headed by Dr. Grau San Martin issued a Statute for the Provisional government of Cuba which, although it did not expressly set aside the old constitution, was subsequently interpreted by the Supreme Court as an implicit abrogation. Formal revocation of the Constitution of 1901 came with the fall of the Grau regime on January, 1934, and the enactment by the provisional government of the constitutional law of February 3, 1934. Simultaneously with the restoration of the constitution of 1901 constitutional guarantees were re-established throughout Cuba. Article 115 provides that two-thirds of the members of each house must agree in order to amend the constitution totally.

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With respect to international obligations, the new constitution states: "The government shall respect and fulfill obligations of an international character lawfully contracted by previous governments, as well as of existing treaties in force."

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In the article prohibiting the expatriation of Cubans provision is also made for the deportation of undesirable aliens residing in Cuba. To safeguard the guarantee that no law, decree or order of any kind regulating constitutional rights will restrict these rights, a provision has been added that the Supreme Court shall decide upon the constitutionality of such laws or decrees upon petition of any citizen.

The constitution of 1901 stated that only invasion of the nation or serious disturbances of public order would authorize suspension of constitutional guarantees; to these the new one adds general strikes. However, a new safeguard has been provided by limiting to ninety days the period during which these guarantees may be suspended.

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important modification in regard to the immunity of legislators and the right of Congress to declare amnesties intended to remedy abuses which were common in the past. The old constitution provided that a senator or representative could not be arrested or prosecuted except with the consent of Congress unless caught flagrante delicto. The new constitution limits this immunity to arrest and allows prosecution. The modification in regard to amnesties is designed to prevent Congress from declaring a general amnesty after each election by suspending the penalties for violation of the electoral laws.

Age limits have been generally reduced. For President from 40 to 33 years; for Senators from 35 to 30; for Representatives from 25 to 21, and for voters from 21 to 20. Foreigners wishing to become naturalized citizens now need wait only one year instead of two between the declaration of intention and the granting of citizenship papers. In the new constitution the term of office for President of the Republic is four years and no one may be re-elected.

IV - GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES

A. TARIFFS AND TAXES. The first tariff of Cuba enforced in 1818, imposed a duty of 43% ad valorem

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on all foreign merchandise except agricultural implements and machinery which were taxed 26 1/2%. These rates were somewhat reduced a few years later. Similar importations from Spain were granted a preferential reduction of 1/2 from these rates. But as Spain produced a very small proportion of the articles that comprised Cuba's imports, her merchants secured them from various foreign sources and of course the consumers were compelled to pay higher prices than if they had been allowed to deal directly with the producers under an impartial system of duties.

"In 1828 an export tariff was imposed on sugar and coffee which by this time had become important products. Four fifths of a cent per pound was levied on the former and two fifths on the latter. A form of shipping bounty added to the weight of these exactions. In case the exports were carried in foreign bottoms the duty on sugar was double and that on coffee increased to one cent a pound. (1) This tariff was maintained without material change until a reciprocal commercial agreement was effected between the United

(1) See American shipping laws in Puerto Rico, page 192.

commercial agreement was effected between the United States and Spain in 1898. This tariff was maintained without material change until a reciprocal agreement was entered into between the United States and Spain in 1900. In case the exports were carried in foreign bottoms the duty on sugar was double and that on coffee was levied on the former and two fifths on the latter. Important products. Four fifths of a cent per pound of sugar and coffee which by this time had become "In 1823 an export tariff was imposed on a system of duties. directly with the producers under an impartial higher prices than if they had been allowed to deal and of course the consumers were compelled to pay merchants secured them from various foreign sources the articles that comprised Cuba's imports, but as Spain produced a very small proportion of preferential reduction of 1/2 from these rates. Similar importations from Spain were granted a These rates were somewhat reduced a few years later. implements and machinery which were taxed 25 1/2% on all foreign merchandise except agricultural

States and Spain in 1891. For the first time in its history Cuba found itself in a position to trade on favorable terms with its nearest and best market. As a result the trade of the island was soon transferred almost in its entirety to the United States and its people enjoyed a term of prosperity transcending anything in their former experience. This change, however, was shortlived. In 1894 the terms of the agreement and the re-establishment of the old regulations forced compulsory traffic with Spain upon the Cubans." (1)

As far as the taxes are concerned, "a system of heavy taxation prevailed during the entire period of Spain's domination over the island. Taxes were levied on all kinds of property and on every form of industry. Every profession and occupation was taxed. Legal papers, petitions and business documents were required to be stamped. There was a consumption tax on the killing of cattle which, of course, increased the price of meat to the consumer. There was an import of 20 ducats called the 'derecho de averia' collected upon every person who arrived on the island. This was established in the earliest years

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"There was a lottery tax and a cedula or head tax; the latter proved very burdensome to the poorest of the people who when in arrears of it were debarred from the exercise of most rights and privileges involving civil and ecclesiastical authorization. Thus they could not make contracts, enter into marriages or secure baptism for their children until the overdue taxes had been paid." (1)

V - LEGISLATION B. GOVERNMENT EXPENSES. Forced by the economic depression and decreasing revenues the government made drastic cuts in the budget of 1930-31, discontinuing all public works except that on the central highway and making sweeping cuts in salaries. Expenditures were reduced to about \$60,000,000. The budget for 1931-32 was made up on June 27, 1931, on this basis but by September further slashes were made including the dropping of 10,000 government employees

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(2) Page 586.

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from the payrolls in an endeavor to cut it to 25%.

Recent ordinary budgets were:

Year	Revenues	Expenditures
1932-33	\$51,700,000	\$51,475,000
1933-34	44,242,000	44,242,000
1934-35	56,200,000	56,200,000

The heavy expenses for public works were made from bond issues. The foreign debt on December 31, 1933, was \$159,880,478 and the internal debt \$7,766,500.

V - LEGISLATION

"Cuba has a Congress that has never passed the constructive legislation called for by the Constitution of 1902," says Charles E. Chapman in "A History of the Cuban Republic", (1) "while at the same time displaying a ready alacrity in enacting bills which are beneficial to the politician alone. The executive has cooperated with Congress in promoting major grafting bills and in maintaining the government lottery, and it has struck out on its own account to the strike of Havana laborers in November, 1908 (on that night the laborers had attacked the police. A sanguinary battle followed in which 20 laborers were killed and over 100 wounded).

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"From 1899 to 1924, 29 amnesties were enacted in Cuba. There were 9 orders for an amnesty during the military intervention by the United States and 3 more (one by Taft and two by Magoon) at the outset of the intervention following the revolution of 1906. The 6 amnesties during the rule of Estrada Palma were:

1. Introduced on May 21, 1902, the day after the surrender of the island to Cuban authorities by the United States military government. The bill called for an amnesty for crimes committed by American citizens during the period of intervention.

2. October 3, 1902. For all municipal employees on account of crimes committed in their official capacity prior to May 20, 1902 (the birthdate of the Republic) and for all who had committed crimes in connection with the previous election.

3. November 10, 1902. For all public crimes of the press but to include crimes against individuals only if the person damaged should consent.

4. June 10, 1903. For crimes growing out of the strike of Havana laborers in November, 1902 (on that night the laborers had attacked the police. A sanguinary battle followed in which 20 laborers were killed and over 100 wounded).

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5. January 30, 1906. For crimes of all public functionaries except municipal officials to May 20, 1902, and for all officials, municipal or otherwise to December 31, 1905. (1)

6. May 19, 1906. For crimes of rebellion, conspiracy, disobedience and attacks on constituted authorities between September 23 and December 1, 1905. This was a supplement to the preceding using group acts while the other concerned misdeeds of individuals.

"The black period in the history of Cuban amnesties begins with the administration of President Gomez. Four laws were enacted at that time, as follows:

1. March 6, 1909, a sweeping jail-delivering law for crimes to January 28, 1909, when the United States intervention came to an end.

2. February 22, 1910, for crimes of the press to February 15, 1910.

3. June 7, 1910, a law amplifying the law of 1909 for crimes committed before January 28, 1909.

4. June 29, 1911, for crimes in connection with the election of November 1, 1910. This bill referred in a specific manner to General Asbert who had killed General Armando de la Riva, chief of police of Havana, in broad daylight. Asbert was a leading aspirant for the presidency. Up to the summer of 1924 but one amnesty bill had been passed during the administration of President Zayas (drafted to open the prison doors to members of the best families, for only the influential authors of misdemeanors and crimes will be washed clean of criminal antecedents)."

In regard to the courts, the same author goes on further to say: (2)

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(2) Page 540.

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But, of course, the book from which the above quotations are taken, was written in 1927, and since then, a great deal of water has run under the bridge. In the many books, magazines and periodical articles that I have had to consult in preparing this paper, I have not been able to find anything that throws a more pleasant light on this important branch of the Cuban government. However, judging by the many radical changes that have taken place during the last few years, it is reasonable to assume that some improvements have taken place.

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marriage law was a matter which urgently needed reform, but which unfortunately was reformed with more zeal than diplomacy, and caused much dissension in that first year of the American administration.

Under the Spanish government marriage was held to be exclusively a function, indeed, a sacrament, of the Roman Catholic Church, and could not legally be performed by any other authority; although in later years there had been made a provision for the civil marriage of non-catholics. But since to resort to the latter amounted to incur a certain social reproach, few couples ever availed themselves of it. Of course, loyal members of the church could not do so, the religious ceremony being imperative for them.

With the departure of the Spanish government from the island, a complete separation of church and state occurred and it was held imperative to provide a new law of marriage. The old system had become odious, it may be explained, because of the large fees which many ecclesiastics charged for performance of the ceremony and because on account of these fees many couples among the poorer element of the population decided to dispense with the marriage ceremony altogether, a practice not conducive to social order,

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and frequently causing serious embarrassment, and litigation over the inheritance of property. Unfortunately, in trying to reform the system the new government went too far toward the opposite extreme. The new law made civil marriage compulsory, although it permitted a supplementary religious ceremony at the pleasure of the parties. "Hereafter," it said, "only civil marriages shall be legally valid." The clergy of the Roman Catholic church opposed it vigorously and persistently and it was finally deemed desirable to modify it so as to make all civil or religious marriages valid.

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is to be used to meet overdue civilian salaries and other government expenses, carry out agricultural reforms and start a program of public work to relieve unemployment. The bullion purchased at a total cost of \$3,588,568.83 was secured through a credit opened in favor of the Cuban government by the Second Export Import Bank of Washington, D.C., upon delivery of interest-bearing negotiable promissory notes. The bank, authorized by an executive order issued March 9, 1934, was organized to assist in improving trade conditions between Cuba and the United States, in accordance with President Roosevelt's general recovery program. The silver currency is to serve as the reserve for 10 million pesos worth of silver certificates to be issued in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20 and 25 pesos. These are being printed in the United States Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington. Two million silver pesos have already been coined from the old die of the 1914 issue and delivered to the Cuban government. (1)

"The only paper money that is legal tender in Cuba is the American greenback. Cuban money is of gold or silver. Gold pieces, seldom seen, in

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denominations of \$5.00, to \$10.00 and \$20.00. Silver coins are very similar to the American silver coin with this exception: that Cuba has a 20 cents silver piece in lieu of the American quarter and 40 cents piece instead of the American fifty cents. Cuban monetary system includes the nickel (5 cent piece), the dime (10 cent piece), a 2 cent piece and a 1 cent piece, the latter made of nickel instead of copper. Generally, American money bears an exchange premium over Cuban money varying at present from one to one and three quarters per cent." (1)

The following table indicates the extent to which the stock of currency in circulation in Cuba has declined since 1925 as a result of the contraction in business activity. During 1929 and the first six months of 1930, the United States and other foreign banks in Cuba were forced to transfer large sums from Cuba to their home banks, because of the lack of demand for capital and the accumulation of surplus currency which had been drawn in from the sluggishly moving stream of business:

(1) "Cuban Tourdata", page 15.

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STOCK OF CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION IN CUBA
(Including cash in Treasury and in Banks)

: Year :	July 1	:	December 1 :

: 1925 :	\$183,772,000	:	\$185,440,000 :
: 1926 :	188,659,000	:	169,202,000 :
: 1927 :	175,672,000	:	154,262,000 :
: 1928 :	160,762,000	:	147,107,000 :
: 1929 :	165,650,000	:	160,475,000 :
: 1930 :	152,354,000	:	----- :

Further recent legislation will be included in the discussion of the topic on "Labor".

VI - RELIGION (1)

Religious Cuba under the tutelage of Spain was a true son of the Mother country's intolerance, being maintained in the colony as strictly as it had for many centuries been maintained at home. No religion but the Roman Catholic was permitted to exercise its rites upon the island. The state religion was sustained

(1) Marriage Laws and Religion were dealt with on page 55.

(1) Charles Morris "Our Island Empire", page 19.

STOCK OF CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION IN CUBA
(including cash in Treasury and in Banks)

Year :	July 1 :	December 1 :
1923 :	\$183,772,000 :	\$185,440,000 :
1924 :	183,852,000 :	189,802,000 :
1925 :	175,872,000 :	184,882,000 :
1926 :	180,762,000 :	187,102,000 :
1927 :	185,830,000 :	189,472,000 :
1928 :	182,354,000 :	
1929 :		
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at the state's expense, its cost being met out of the revenues of the island. The rites of the church seem to have been little understood and less cared for by the easy going population. Originally there was but one diocese in Cuba, that of Santiago, which included also Florida and Louisiana. The diocese of Havana was not constituted until 1788. In 1804 the bishop of Santiago was elevated to the dignity of Archbishop, an honor which has not been conferred upon the prelate at Havana. The ecclesiastical government of the island is divided between these two dignitaries of the church and the minor clergy are appointed by them. (1)

It is a commonplace of history that there was a certain thread of religious motive running all through the exploits of Columbus. He emphasized the significance of his name, Christopher (Christ-Bearer), some times signing himself X.Ferens. The same idea was expressed in the names which he gave to the various lands which he discovered. Nor were his successors in exploration and conquest

(1) Charles Morris "Our Island Empire", page 18.

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neglectful of the same spirit. Accordingly, the first Spanish settlers in Cuba took pains to plant there immediately the church of their faith, and to seek to convert the natives to Christianity. (1)

In going over the history of the church in this country, it is striking to note the part and influence that the early bishops played in politics. It is also surprising and gratifying to note the efforts of the Crown to remain impartial in the conflicts between the church and the municipal authorities. In the first clash between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the former were victorious. The Bishop excommunicated Vadillo for conducting an investigation of Guzman's administration, of whom Bishop Ramirez seemed to have been a hot partisan. Vadillo made appeal to the King, and the King, after careful consideration and investigation, compelled the Bishop to withdraw the excommunication and in addition gave his royal approval to all that Vadillo had done with respect to the church.

Another instance worth while citing is the case of the bitter rivalry between the governor and Bishop on the one side and the municipal alcaldes on

(1) Emperor Charles V of Austria and I of Spain, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella.

(1) "History of Cuba", Vol. I, page 122.

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"The King(1) was no fool. Thousands of miles away though he was, and absorbed in important problems of other parts of his vast empire, he took pains to find out the truth about Cuba....He declared that he wanted the Indians to be treated as free men and not as slaves, and promulgated a set of new laws concerning them. In connection with these laws, as a statement of the need of them, the King delivered himself of a scathing indictment of the Cuban government and people for ill-treatment of the natives and for causing depopulation of the island." (2)

The churches of Cuba are not only very numerous, but possess a definite charm. The rugged virility of old world architecture, the artistic savor of century old relics, decorative and sacred objects, paintings, vestments, and ornaments, all reflect the gradual transition through the Colonial period to the atmosphere and expression of the vivid present. In Havana must be mentioned: the grim-walls and dim interior

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of San Francisco, the carvings of which were made by the old padres themselves in the 16th century; the fine architectural lines of the Cathedral, once the resting place of the bones of Columbus, brought here from Santo Domingo, and now in the Cathedral of Seville; Santa Clara Convent, carefully preserved, interesting architectural relics, where four hundred nuns dwelt in bygone centuries. There are many others in Havana, and all over the Island. There are English speaking denominations, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Christian Science, and other have their churches with services in both languages, including one Chinese congregation. There are two Jewish Synagogues, numerous Shrines, Odd Fellows and Masonic Lodges.

VII - EDUCATION

The Education Act in 1899 established a system of primary and secondary schools with compulsory attendance under which education has progressed greatly. A wide system of kindergarten and night schools has been added. In 1931-32 there were 3816 public schools with 7578 teachers and 434,279 pupils and 364 private schools with 79,136 pupils. The order of sequence of

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public instruction in Cuba has followed very largely that of the United States. The school gardens are followed by primary and grammar schools, all suitably graded, and the course of studies is more or less similar to that of the United States.

The University of Havana, founded in 1721, in 1930 had 6,332 students, 22% of whom were women. It was closed in 1931 by Presidential decree because of participation of students in political disorders (See page 26).

In regard to the University of Havana, "School and Society" published on May 20, 1933 (1), the following article:

"The University of Havana was closed on July 1, 1931, by presidential decree, owing to the anti-Administration activities of the students. The friction between the University students and the present administration, which spread to the normal and high schools, dates back to 1928 when President Machado obtained the presidency for a second term by modification of the constitution. The Cuban students, who concern themselves with political matters of the day, protested asserting that such reform of the constitution was illegal. In September, 1930, Rafael Trejo, a member of the Directorio Estudiantil, and one of the leaders, was killed by the police during a protest parade. Riots followed. President Machado provisionally closed the University in December of the same year and on July 1, 1931, definitely closed, not only the University, but all high schools and normal schools of the island as well. Since that date

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the students have carried on a constant campaign against government officials. On April 26, 1932, the Supreme Court of Cuba declared the presidential decree closing the higher institution of learning unconstitutional and ordered the President to reopen the schools. On July 12, 1932, the faculty of the University, which had consistently supported the action of the students, met and agreed to suspend the educational and academic activities of the institution on the grounds that many students and several officials were still in jail awaiting trial by court martial on charges of anti-administration activities and that the University and grounds had been turned into a military zone patrolled by soldiers. At the same time the students issued proclamations asserting that they would not return to school as long as Machado was president and threatened to bomb the University if an attempt was made to open it."

It is interesting to remember that Boston University at one time cooperated with Havana University in a College of Business Administration. Professors O'Neil, Thompson and Hall were three of the professors sent to Havana by Boston University.

VIII - AGRICULTURE

The island of Cuba is covered with a luxuriant growth of vegetation. Flowers, grasses and many varieties of herbaceous plants are found on the lowlands while the mountains to their summits are clothed with heavy forests containing mahogany, ebony, rosewood, granadilla, cedar, live-oak and other valuable timber.

The soil and climate are favorable to agriculture, which is the leading industry. Previous to the last war for independence the country contained over 90,000 plantations, farms, cattle ranches and orchards. During the war many of these were devastated, but since the establishment of an independent government agriculture has been rapidly advancing. Sugar, tobacco, coffee and tropical fruits are the leading productions. Of these sugar is the most important; it was once predicted that when all of the land suitable for growing sugar cane should be brought under cultivation, an annual crop of a half million tons of sugar could be produced. In reality, the sugar needs of the world have stirred Cuban planters to extraordinary endeavors. The average annual production for several years preceding 1919 was almost 3,000,000 tons. In 1925 and in 1929, the annual production exceeded 5,000,000 tons.

For centuries, Cuba, capable of producing practically all needed food-stuff (1) far in excess of

(1) "More than one half of the commodities making up Cuba's annual importation of food supply, enormous for an agricultural population of 2 millions, might be raised in the country at lower cost and of better quality". Forbes Lindsay "Cuba and her People of Today", page 134.

its needs, has preferred to devote its energy to cash crops for export: sugar and tobacco, and import its food supplies. The small farmer and the low-paid agricultural worker with a cash income between \$200 and \$400 spend 75% of that for imported food-stuff. Since 1924 when the stagnation in sugar due to world-wide overproduction made itself felt in Cuba, the government has made a strenuous campaign for agriculture diversion and industrial stimulation. The rural worker was given seeds and urged to raise fresh vegetables, supply eggs, raise pigs, keep cows, etc. Fleets of trucks appeared on the new central highway and collected milk and country produce to supply the city markets. In 1931 there were 100,018 milk cows in Cuba and 4,290 dairy farms employing 10,137 persons. The importation of 13 food items from the United States has yearly decreased since 1925 when the value was \$43,800,000 to \$9,930,000 in 1931. Sugar is the predominant crop and 1,600,000 acres are given over to growing cane. Sugar mills (centrales) grinding in 1925 numbered 183. In 1929, 163; in 1931, 140, in 1932, 133 and in 1933, 178. Stimulated by the high prices in 1920 following de-control of sugar after the World War and the rise again in 1923, production became excessive.

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Recent figures in production of raw sugar in thousands of long tons and thousands of dollars and export to the United States by thousands of short tons, are:

: Calendar	: Crop 000	: Value of	: Exports to	:
: Year	: Long Tons	: 000\$: United States:	:
:	:	:	: 000 Short Tns:	:
: 1920	: 3730	: 724,150	: 3,450	:
: 1925	: 5125	: 368,498	: 4,041	:
: 1927	: 4505	: 254,393	: 3,953	:
: 1928	: 4012	: 199,021	: 3,999	:
: 1929	: 5156	: 188,636	: 4,109	:
: 1930	: 4771	: 92,471	: 2,769	:
: 1931	: 3122	: 64,918	: 2,405	:
: 1932	: 2603	: 39,682	: 2,350	:
: 1933	: 2589	: 43,287	: 1,692	:

therefore, Cuban sugar production for 1935 was limited by presidential decree to 2,000,000 metric tons, and for 1934 to 2,315,459 tons. Cuba's share of world production was 21% in 1925, but declined to less than 10% in 1932. Cuba supplied to the United States 58% of its sugar consumption in 1926, falling to 28% in 1932, while the amount that came from United States beet and cane sugar and that supplied from Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines increased from 41% of the total to 71%. Cuba has increased its refining of sugar, exporting to the United States 51,859 long tons in 1926 and 423,262 tons in 1932.

(1) "The World Almanac, 1935", pages 523-29.

Tobacco raising and the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes is the second industry in Cuba, and has also suffered severely from the depression. Recent crops have been: (1)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pounds</u>
1933.....	36,806,800
1932.....	35,264,000
1931.....	80,666,400

Both Agriculture and Manufactures and Industries, will be dealt with more fully when discussing "Cuban Readjustment to Current Economic Forces".

I said at the beginning that little credit has been given to Spain as a colonizer. I cannot, therefore, refrain from giving here a statement of her work in agriculture.

From the outset of the conquest, the Spaniards began the great task of transplanting their culture to the New World and, of course, the basic element of that culture was the art of farming. From the first efforts were made to transplant agriculture in a very practical manner. In 1524 Cortez wrote his Sovereign asking him to give orders that no ship should sail to America without bringing its cargo of plants

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and seeds. Columbus on his second voyage brought animals for breeding purposes and seeds and slips and plants. This example was followed by subsequent explorers and "Conquistadores" and the domestic pig, sheep, dog, goat, rabbit and horse were among some of the animals imported. As early as 1495, jacks, jennets, mares, cattle, pigs, sheep, rice, millet, farm laborers and gardeners, millwrights and blacksmiths were brought. Wheat, grapes, olives, sugar-cane, date palms, figs and pomegranate were trasplanted to the New World as well as apples, pears, plums, peaches, paricots, quinces, mulberries, oranges, limes and lemons, all before the year of the first English settlement in North America.(1)

IX - MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

A - The Sugar Industry. Sugar in some form has been used by the inhabitants of the globe from the earliest times. Until the 15th century before Christ the chief source of supply was honey. It was at about that time that the value of cultivating the wild sugar cane was discovered in India and it is probable that the first manufacture of sugar in any manner should be

(1) "Bulletin, Pan American Union", October, 1935, p.796.

(2) Forbes Lindsay, "Cuba and her People of Today", p. 166.

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credited to that country. For many centuries only the raw juice was extracted until about 700 B.C. the employment of fire in concentrating it came into use. From India the art spread rapidly among the ancient nations but did not reach Western Europe until several centuries later. Columbus carried sugar cane from the Canary Islands to the West Indies whence it extended to the mainland and thus in a progress of 3000 years encircled the earth. The production of sugar in the New World became so great within a century after its introduction that the importers of Europe turned to it for the supply which they had formerly received from the Orient. Spain, Italy and Egypt, the largest producers of sugar at that time, could not meet the competition with the American output and soon ceased to cultivate cane commercially. Free land and slave labor enabled the planters of the West Indies to sell sugar at lower figures with larger profits than could the growers of anyother part of the world. Today sugar is produced under the most diversified conditions and in the most scattered regions. (1) For more than a century sugar cane has been the chief source of Cuban wealth. It has cast a blight

(2) Ibid, page 123.

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(1) "The Cuban planters, most of whom were ruined during the protracted period of insurrection, invariably made their homes on the haciendas, where one generation followed another in possession. The sons usually remained with the father each taking some particular share in the management of the estate. Thus several families were often found living under one roof and generally in perfect amity, for the Cubans are distinctly domestic people, affectionate in disposition, and clannish in habit. There were comparatively few holdings in the hands of peasant proprietors or small farmers and thus absence of a home and land-owning population was an obviously weak element in the foundation of the government."

"Cuba and her People of Today", page 44.

(2) Ibid, page 123.

(1) "Cuban Readjustment to Current Economic Forces", p. 4.

on everything else and is in the background of every phase of Cuban life. The effect upon the welfare, morals, health and independence of the people in general and the country as a whole has not been wholly beneficial. It has prevented the subdividing of the great estates so that the number of home owners and small farmers might be increased. (1) It has provided rich pasturage for the professional politician. It may have brought generous profits to American and British stockholders, but it has not increased the happiness of the Cubans, and, after all, this is the primary question. Practically his only hope is to serve as a hireling for someone. (2)

(1) "The Cuban planters, most of whom were ruined during the protected period of insurrection, invariably made their homes on the haciendas, where one generation followed another in possession. The sons usually remained with the father each taking some particular share in the management of the estate. Thus several families were often found living under one roof and generally in perfect amity, for the Cubans are distinctly domestic people, affectionate in disposition and clanish in habit. There were comparatively few holdings in the hands of peasant proprietors or small farmers and thus absence of a home and land-owning population was an obviously weak element in the foundation of the government."

"Cuba and her People of Today", page 44.

(2) Ibid, page 123.

"When sugar brought its yearly income counted in hundreds of millions of dollars, not only the Cuban colono but even the humblest agricultural workers in the sugar industry scorned to devote effort to the production of any part of his food supply around his home. In general, a large part of the population of the cane-growing areas earned enough in wages to buy all their food and clothing. Even during the time between crops, when agricultural labor on the large estates was idle, very few Cubans took advantage of this idle time to cultivate vegetables or even to keep chickens or a cow. When the sugar industry began its progressive decline, the agricultural workers were faced with the necessity of providing for their families on greatly reduced incomes. Under the pressure of Government propaganda and the cooperation of the sugar companies, the distressed agricultural laborers began to realize the advantages of raising a portion of their own food. The sugar companies devoted space in their fields where the laborers could cultivate, in inclosed plots of ground, corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables for their own consumption." (1)

The organization of the Cuban sugar industry, with regard to its articulation in Cuba's national

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Nearly everywhere in Cuba the cane grower goes 50-50 with the mills, getting for his cane just about half the amount that the sugar extracted from it brings at current sale prices. The colono contracts to deliver his cane and take for each 100 arrobas (about 2,500 pounds) the value of say, 5 1/2 arrobas of sugar at the official promedio (average) for sugar in a given period. He cannot bargain, or hold for a certain price. He goes ahead raising and delivering cane, entirely trusting to the New York sugar market for what he will get for it. In 1924 he received \$5.88 for each lumbering cane cart load of about one ton. In 1929, it was \$2.51. In 1930 about \$1.75. He has to pay his labor accordingly. Hence, canefield labor is today paid 40 cents a day in some parts of Cuba. Naturally, in view of the fact that about 85% of the production is raised under the colono system, wages and prices under that system control wages and prices throughout the industry.(1)

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B - The Tobacco Industry. Cuban tobacco

has a great advantage over her sugar in the fact that it can always command a good price and is beyond the reach of competition in the matter of quality. Every likely soil and climate in the world has been tried in the effort to produce a leaf similar to that grown in the fields of the celebrated Vuelta Abajo. Even though seeds from the best Cuban plants have been used, the results have never approached the object sought. What is commonly known as Havana tobacco stands alone without a rival. However, some people prefer the best Filipino tobacco, and western Puerto Rico (from Arecibo to Aguadilla) can almost duplicate the best Cuban product.

One of the peculiarities of the tobacco plant is that a very slight change in the conditions under which it is grown will effect a considerable change in the character of the leaf produced. Plants raised in soils composed of precisely the same chemical ingredients will yield quite different tobacco when its ingredients happen to be present in varying proportions. In Cuba, as elsewhere, it is not uncommon to find tobacco of the highest grade upon a piece of land within a stone throw of another field where only the poorest quality of leaf can be produced.

The manufactures in Cuba are practically confined to cigars and other products of tobacco and to the manufacture of raw sugar. As stated before, further details about Cuban manufactures and industries will be given when dealing with the Cuban readjustment to current economic forces.

There are certain manufactures and commodities whose importation has fallen off much more sharply than imports in general, and persons in close contact with the lines of business these represent believe that domestic production in Cuba has accounted for most of the drop in foreign purchases of these articles. An investigation of the growth of national industries in Cuba shows that both production and consumption of some of these manufactures and commodities showing declines practically equivalent to disappearance of importations have expanded so sharply as to compel the belief that the growth of domestic production considerably exceeds the amount of the decline in importations.

X - TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

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X - TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Roads are generally poor and lack of good means of transportation in the interior of Cuba is a great hindrance to commerce. Havana is connected with Pinar

del Rio, Matanzas, Cabanas, La Isabella, Camaguey, Santiago de Cuba, Manzanillo and Cienfuegos by railway. A line of railways extends across the island from Moron to Jucaro and another connects Camaguey with the port of Nuevitas. In all there are about 2,360 miles of railways, some of which are in poor condition.

Cuba has the honor of having been the second country in the American continent and the first Spanish speaking country in the world to make use of the "Iron Horse", the first railway built in Cuba being the road from Havana to Guines, which was opened to traffic in 1837. In the year 1898, a group of English capitalists organized the United Railways of Havana, and have gradually absorbed all the railways west of Santa Clara, with the exception of the "Hershey Railway" (Electric, Havana to Matanzas) recently constructed. All the existing short lines, some fifteen in number, have been re-organized and consolidated under one management to form the great system which exists today.

Gross earnings on the railway system which occupies the western half of the island of Cuba have declined steadily since 1924. Taking the earnings during the fiscal year running from July 1, 1924, to

July 1, 1925, as representing 100, the following percentages show the successive decline:

1925-26.....	21.03%
1926-27.....	27.99%
1927-28.....	35%
1928-29.....	32.37%
1929-30.....	52.21%

The railways of Cuba are facing great competition from the relatively new bus and truck lines which, taking advantage of the improvement in the public highway system, have established fast passenger and freight service in many sections of the island, notably the western half. (1)

The irregularity of the coast provides numerous good harbors, about 40 being accessible to ocean-going vessels. Havana, Matanzas, Cabanas, Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba are the most important seaports. Regular communication is maintained with the Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States and with the commercial ports of Europe. In 1918 a new line was established between Cuban and Spanish ports. There is also a slow line (Spanish) with regular sailings from Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. Cuba is situated in the convergence of many Atlantic routes, and the ships of all nations find their way into the harbor of Havana, the principal seaport.

Cuba began in 1926 and completed in 1931 its fine Central Highway, a concrete motor road 20.66 feet wide and 705 miles long through the center of the island. It is without grade crossings, and aqueducts and sewerage systems for towns along the line had to be rebuilt. It cost approximately \$101,125,000 and a \$50,000,000 5% construction loan was negotiated in New York. "Warren Brothers of Boston built the road, but are not being paid because they gave Machado's agent a graft-commission. This has nearly broken the Warrens, but they are still in business." (1)

The merchant marine July 1, 1934 was composed of 38 steamships of 30,713 gross tonnage, six motor ships of 2,852 gross tons, and 14 sailing vessels of 5,945 gross tons.

XI- COMMERCE

The restrictions on the commerce of the island began with the Royal Decree of 1497 which granted to the port of Seville the conclusive privilege of trade with the colonies, these being prohibited from any commercial intercourse with any foreign country. In 1707 this monopoly was transferred from Seville to

(1) Dr. M. H. Donaldson "Notes".

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the port of Cadiz. While it was the capital of the island Santiago was the sole port of entry and after Havana became the capital all shipments passed through it. This restricted traffic between Spain and its insular colonies was jealeously guarded. Trading vessels were required to assemble in flotas or fleets and to make the double voyage under the escort of war ships. This arrangement was designed hardly so much for protection as for prevention of illicit dealings with the intermediate countries. During certain periods trade with foreigners was prohibited under the most severe penalties and it was never permissible except by special authorization. Commercial intercourse between the colonies was even forbidden. These hampering conditions remained until 1778 when Havana was opened to free trade. The decree authorized traffic between several ports of Cuba. Others were included in this privilege from time to time, until in 1803 practically all the ports of the island enjoyed it. For two hundred years or more such action on the part of the Sovereign government was looked upon by all nations as good policy. In 1714 Spain and the Dutch Confederation effected a convention by the terms of which each party was bound to refrain from every form of trade with the American possessions of the other.

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A similar agreement was reached between England and Spain about 50 years later. Toward the close of the 18th century, however, these treaties were abrogated and a royal cedula set forth that no foreign ship should be allowed to enter a Cuban port under any conditions. The restraints on trade were substantially released during the first decade of the 19th century. (1)

The commercial code in force is that of Spain with some modifications that were effected by the provisional government during the intervention of the United States. The laws concerning contracts, debts and other matters of general business are fully explicit and give all necessary protection to foreigners dealing with natives of the country. Judged by our present conceptions of justice and policy, the commercial regulations imposed upon Cuba by Spain appear to have been extremely foolish and iniquitous but we must bear in mind that they were quite consistent with the prevailing idea at that time that the interests of colonies should be made subservient to those of the parent country. In other words, the commercial and industrial restrictions which were imposed on Cuba originated not so much from disregard of the colony's

(1) Forbes Lindsay, "Cuba and her People of Today", p. 46.

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welfare as from the peculiar views of political economy generally entertained in that age. Great Britain's American possessions were subjected to similar treatment. Spain's vital error lay in the tenacity with which she clung to her misguided policy. A little judicious reform at the beginning of the last century when other powers were granting to their colonies a measurable degree of freedom in trade and self-government would probably have sufficed to keep Cuba under the flag of Spain. (1)

In the desire to supply the home market and to permit exportation, the production of coffee has been fostered and in 1931, 59,486,500 pounds were produced on 145,431 acres in the province of Oriente, giving employment to 28,214 people. Exports of coffee in 1932 reached 13,157,059 pounds valued at \$1,163,921 as compared with 582,000 pounds valued at \$155,000 in 1928.

The exports of unmanufactured leaf tobacco to the United States during the years 1930, 1931 and 1932, were respectively as follows:

1930	21,815,000 pounds
1931	19,189,000 pounds
1932	28,249,000 pounds

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Fruits and vegetable exports to the United States in 1932 were valued at \$3,665,000; \$4,041,834 in 1931 and \$5,845,611 in 1930. In the fiscal year 1929-30, 4,149,000 bunches of bananas were exported to the United States, in 1930-31 3,562,000 bunches and in 1931-32, 3,163,000 bunches.

Stock raising is becoming an important industry, the livestock census of 1933 returning:

cattle.....	4,316,862
horses.....	585,739
mules.....	77,990
sheep.....	102,000
pigs.....	591,000

Iron ore abounds with reserves being estimated at 3,221 million tons. Of manganese ore, 19,177 metric tons were exported in 1932 to the United States; of copper ore, 21,607 tons were exported to the United States in 1932.

During the period of 1929-1933, Cuba's imports and exports were as follows: (1)

: Year :	Imports :	Exports :
: 1929 :	216,215,113:	272,439,762:
: 1930 :	162,452,268:	167,410,669:
: 1931 :	78,678,777:	118,865,553:
: 1932 :	51,024,000:	80,672,000:
: 1933 :	42,362,000:	84,391,000:
: :	:	:

(1) "The World Almanac, 1935", pages 628, 629.

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and exports were as follows: (1)

Year	Imports	Exports
1929	216,215,113	272,432,783
1930	182,422,288	127,410,869
1931	78,678,777	118,865,553
1932	31,024,000	80,672,000
1933	42,382,000	84,321,000

(1) "The World Almanac, 1935", pages 628, 629.

The following table, taken from "The World Almanac" (1935, page 629), gives the amount of trade with the United States during the years 1925 to 1933:

Year	Imports	Exports
1925	198,655,032	261,672,858
1926	160,487,680	250,600,076
1927	155,383,026	256,785,550
1928	127,897,086	202,824,587
1929	128,909,221	207,421,314
1930	93,550,445	121,949,240
1931	46,963,702	90,059,312
1932	28,754,509	58,330,270
1933	25,092,862	58,436,789

A new Cuban-American agreement, the first negotiated under the Tariff Act of June 12, 1934, was signed on August 24 and went into effect September 3. Cuba made concessions on 426 items of American origin granting duty reductions and preferentials of from 20% to 60%. The United States granted Cuba large tariff reductions on sugar, rum, and quota tobacco, and also seasonal decreases on fresh fruits and vegetables. The treaty covered over 90% of Cuba's exports to the United States. President Roosevelt on March 9 set up the Second Export-Import Bank with a capital of \$2,750,000 designed to stimulate trade with Cuba. On April 30 it was announced the bank

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Year	Imports	Exports
1925	198,858,032	261,673,828
1926	186,487,880	230,800,078
1927	158,383,026	256,785,350
1928	127,927,085	203,824,287
1929	128,909,221	207,421,214
1930	93,550,445	121,949,240
1931	46,983,702	90,039,212
1932	28,734,209	58,330,270
1933	23,922,822	58,426,739

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had loaned \$4,000,000 to Cuba. A moratorium on the amortization payments on Cuba's foreign debts to terminate whenever the annual national revenues may total \$60,000,000 was signed by President Mendieta on April 10. He placed restrictions on the exportation of funds from Cuba on June 2 and provided that proceeds from the sale of Cuban products shall be brought back to Cuba within three months, limited the issuance of foreign drafts and imposed a 10% tax on all funds withdrawn by nationals or foreigners residing abroad who obtain their livelihood from properties or money invested in Cuba. A committee appointed to study public works financing on June 10, held invalid certain loans contracted by the Machado government amounting to about \$60,000,000 which had been floated in New York and Chicago. (1)

XII - LABOR

A - Recent Labor Legislation. The present administration in Cuba has taken great interest in making labor legislation so that labor conform to modern standards. Two recent measures are laws # 89 of April 12, 1935, creating the Superior Labor

(1) See Page 79.

Council and # 148 of May 7, 1935, establishing employment offices in five provincial capitals. The Superior Labor Council is to serve the Department of Labor in an advisory capacity. Its functions will include the study of labor bills, the investigation of the effectiveness of labor legislation, the codification of social welfare laws, suggestions for improving and amending social legislation and the promotion of armonious relations between employers and employees. The Council will be composed of 22 members: the Secretary of Labor, Chairman; the Director General of Labor, the Director of Hygiene and Social welfare, the Secretary of the Superior Labor Council, five experts from the Department of Labor, the professor of Industrial legislation at the University of Havana, eight delegates from the employers' group and eight from labor and employees' organizations. It will meet twice a year in 45 day sessions although special meetings may be called by the chairman at his discretion or at the request of a majority of members. The employment offices (bolsa de trabajo) are to be established in every provincial capital having no such organization. Each employer must inform the employment office in his province of all changes temporary or permanent among

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his employees, either experts, office workers or skilled or unskilled laborers. In the case of vacancies or any increase in his staff the employer must consult the lists of unemployed suitable for his needs. Each labor union must report all cases of dismissal, employment or re-employment affecting its members. No employer may hire any employee lacking a registration card from the office of his district. The law went into effect 30 days after the date of its publication in the "Gaceta Oficial", or on June 7, 1935. (1)

B - New Minimum Wage Legislation. Minimum daily wages of \$1.00 in cities and in the sugar industry and 80 cents in rural districts (with certain exceptions allowed by law) which were temporarily fixed by Decree-Law No. 727 of November 30, 1934, were extended to "commercial establishment of whatever kind" by Law No. 22 of March 19, 1935. The provisional exemption of contract labor and piecework was abrogated, these being brought within the purview of the minimum wage scale if the work performed occupies at least eight hours a day. The payment of minimum wages to laborers and all women workers.

(1) "Bulletin Pan American Union", July, 1935, page 579.

(2) "Monthly Labor Review", August, 1935, page 379.

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whose services are engaged by contract or who are employed on a piecework basis is made necessary by the recent large increase in the number of workers employed under these conditions, the government explained, in order to escape the effect of the Decree-Law No. 727. (1)

C - Legislation on the employment of women before and after childbirth. The present administration issued Decree-Law No. 152 approved by the Council of Secretaries and signed by the President of the Republic on April 18, 1934. This law prohibits the employment of women for six weeks after childbirth and provides for an absence of six weeks before the estimated time of birth as attested by a medical certificate. During the absence every such employee shall receive a pension sufficient for the maintenance of herself and her child and also for the additional right to be attended by a physician or a licensed midwife at the expense of the state, province or the city, as the case may be. The pension, which must not be less than the woman's wages will be paid from an insurance fund to which compulsory contributions shall be made by the government, employers and all woman workers. While receiving this financial

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nationality or civil status, and the woman child to aid the beneficiary must not accept any remunerative work. If the mother should die the pension shall be continued to the person caring for the child.

After the mother has returned to work she shall be allowed two extra-half hour periods during working hours to nurse the child until it is weaned. No deduction may be made from her wages for the time so spent. No woman may be dismissed for pregnancy or for any illness connected therewith which affects her work, nor may a pregnant woman be dismissed except for justifiable cause in which category lessened efficiency due to her condition may not be included. Such employees shall not be given work which exerts their strength, which require them to stand an unduly length of time, which might produce nervous shock or which might in any way affect the unborn child. Every commercial, business or industrial enterprise, public or private, must provide in each building in which fifty or more women work, a room to be used during working hours as a day nursery for children under two years of age of the women employees. Such rooms must comply with the regulations and be subject to the inspection of the Board of Health. The word woman as defined in the law applies without regard to age,

[1] "Bulletin, Pan American Union", July, 1934, page 538.
[2] Bulletin 785, Washington, 1930.

aid the beneficiary must not accept any remunerative work. If the mother should die the pension shall be continued to the person caring for the child. After the mother has returned to work she shall be allowed two extra-half hour periods during working hours to nurse the child until it is weaned. No deduction may be made from her wages for the time so spent. No woman may be dismissed for pregnancy or for any illness connected therewith which affects her work, nor may a pregnant woman be dismissed except for justifiable cause in which category is included deficiency due to her condition may not be included. Such employees shall not be given work which exerts their strength, which requires them to stand an unduly length of time, which might produce nervous shock or which might in any way affect the unborn child. Every commercial, business or industrial enterprise, public or private, must provide in each building in which fifty or more women work, a room to be used during working hours as a day nursery for children under two years of age of the women employees. Such rooms must comply with the regulations and be subject to the inspection of the Board of Health. The word woman as defined in the law applies without regard to age.

nationality or civil status, and the term child to any infant, legitimate or illegitimate. (1)

XIII - CUBAN READJUSTMENT TO CURRENT ECONOMIC FORCES

The radical changes which are taking place in Cuba's economic structure as a result of the collapse in price of the island's major product, sugar, are strikingly shown in a study made by Commercial Attache Frederick Todd, and published by the United States Department of Commerce. (2)

For many years practically every commercial and industrial activity of Cuba has been more or less dependent on the status of sugar. When it is considered that ten years ago this commodity was bringing in the neighborhood of 23 cents a pound, while at the present time the price is close to 1 cent, it is easy to realize that drastic economic adjustments have been necessary. At present prices, the majority of the people of Cuba are helping produce a vast amount of a commodity which can neither be sold abroad at a profit nor exchanged at home for the things they need.

A comparison of the values of the United States imports from Cuba in 1920 and those in 1929

(1) "Bulletin, Pan American Union", July, 1934, page 532.
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reveals the tremendous loss in national income which the island suffered as a result of low sugar prices. In the earlier period the United States paid Cuba approximately \$720,000,000 for products purchased from her, while last year this figure had fallen to \$207,000,000. This decline was entirely due to the difference in prices, because in actual volume the imports of the United States from the island last year were 35% higher than those of 1920.

In round figures, every person in Cuba got the direct or indirect benefit of a national income of \$107 per capita from sugar in 1924, but this had dropped to \$53 per capita in 1929. It is, therefore, inevitable that all business in the island should be directly affected by such a drastic decline in the total amount received from its principal "cash" product. Its community of merchant establishments, its transportation facilities, its fine adjustment of credit as represented in the two sides of the balance sheets of the banks, and all the other mechanisms of the business organization are keyed to the anticipated movement of large-phase "cash" production.

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Cuba's decreased purchasing power has naturally been reflected in its imports from the United States.

The Cubans have begun to produce many of the articles they formerly imported, these including an astonishingly varied lot of necessities and even minor luxuries.

"In Cuba we find there has been a substantial growth of new industry and new production," says Commercial Attache Todd (1) "impossible to measure with any approach to exactness. The people of Cuba are actually readjusting in many directions, with localized trade expanding all over the island, with the people furnishing themselves and their neighbors with necessities and even with comforts and luxuries that they are substituting in their individual organization of living for the things, largely imported articles, which they used to obtain through the medium of the big merchant establishments."

"Today there is still an astonishingly great volume of certain foods imported into Cuba for popular consumption, but at the same time locally raised bumper crops of yucca, malangas, plantains, potatoes, corn, eggs, and a wide range of northern varieties of vegetables are coming into the markets. The cattle and hog production has grown so that beef sells at 5 cents on the hoof at times, and after some establishments that now manufacture men's clothing in quantity have

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vicissitudes of experimentation, the local industry of making dried beef seems to be getting upon its feet. Eggs are selling at 2 cents each in interior cities and for less out in the country districts. Two and a half million pounds of cheese of the varieties formerly imported have been added to the Cuban output of country cheese, the whole volume of which as made for home consumption and locality trade cannot be estimated. Shelled corn is so plentiful that it can be bought, delivered in quantity at country stations, at \$1.00 for 100 pounds. Production of milk for distribution in bottles has greatly developed near Havana, where good milk in bottles is delivered at houses for 12 cents a quart, as compared with a special dairy distribution at 20 cents a quart to 30 cents a quart in 1927. The Cubans can now clothe themselves, buying abroad the cloth and some of the leather they need for their local industries. The making of garments for men, particularly the cotton blouses and trousers worn in the country, riding breeches, etc., is now almost exclusively domestic. The linen suits of the city men, also most of the suits classed as woolen in texture, are made in Havana, and some of the establishments that now manufacture men's clothing in quantity have

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developed the skill to imitate American imported suits, which still hold a place in the city distribution." (1)

The Cuban government has been making a determined effort to develop exportation of miscellaneous products, including manufactures. A department of diplomatic establishments has sent men out to promote trade, but there are not sufficient recent trade statistics to show the result of this effort.

The following figures illustrate the extent to which Cuban foreign trade has declined in the five years of depression following 1924. From a total of \$434,865,295 exported value in 1924, exports have dropped to \$272,439,762, a decline of 37.5 per cent. Importations have declined from \$290,372,782 in 1924 to \$216,215,113 in 1929, a drop of 25.5 per cent. The consistent balance of trade in favor of Cuba has to be maintained, inasmuch as foreign investments in Cuba necessitate the transfer of large amounts of capital earnings, although it is well recognized that during the past nine years many of the foreign investments on the island have failed to pay dividends. The income from American tourists runs into many millions of dollars each year and helps to maintain Cuba's favorable balance.

(1) "Cuban Readjustment to Current Economic Forces", p. 7.

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IV - SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Taking 1924 as a basic year, it is seen that from 1924 to 1929 the annual losses in exportations aggregate \$645,419,546, while the declines in importations net only \$235,102,698, a discrepancy of over \$400,000,000. This great difference is accounted for in several ways. Cuba undoubtedly has drawn upon its savings of individual wealth, its class of very well-to-do paying out of their income from investments abroad and out of their capital. In 1928 and 1929 \$69,000,000 borrowed to meet a maturing internal debt and to pay for the public works program was the equivalent of so much cash income distributed in Cuba. Furthermore, Cuba has piled up a huge aggregate of unpaid merchandise debt since the decline began, and, as has been stated, many American investments have ceased to pay dividends or have been wiped out entirely since 1921. The sharp increases in taxation in Cuba have served also to draw upon the savings of the nation as a whole and to place large aggregates at the disposal of the official classes in Havana for the purchase of imports. There has been, also, a large increase in tourist traffic rising from \$12,000,000 to \$27,000,000 until the decline in 1930.

XIV - SUMMARY ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Cuba is a country of low economic organization. For years it devoted a large part of its energies to the production of sugar and tobacco, marketed abroad, and its admittedly large aggregate of other production was for localized sale to consumers who bought with the money obtained from the two primary crops. There was a comparatively small amount of domestic trade entering into the large currents of formal merchandising. What domestic exchange there was took place within the locality of production and did not find its way into the main trade channels of commerce.

Cuba has had the unusual advantage of having her monetary currency and banking closely related to the banking system of the United States. This fact has saved Cuba from the disastrous disorganization of her money that would have inevitably occurred if she had not had the banks and the money of the United States to act as a stabilizer in matters of finances and credits. The relative simplicity of Cuba's economic structure is of great advantage in this time of depression. A highly developed and sensitive economic organization, with its intricate merchandising

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dependent on an involved and high-speed system of credit, would have suffered collapse under the pressure of circumstances similar to those now endured in Cuba.

There are a great number of industrial and merchant houses that have no banking connections at all. There are important and well-known old commercial houses that carry their cash in their own office safes, in known instances to amounts as high as \$80,000. There still exists the old time merchant banking, in which deliveries of commodities by customers are credited against debits representing merchandise sold to them, with cash available for cash necessities. The old-time apprentice system still largely prevails, so that the employees of many merchants constitute a kind of family, willing to sleep in bunks in odd corners and to be furnished their simple food with a dollar or two a week to spend. The commercial code makes it next to impossible for creditors, at the first suspicion of insolvency, to put a merchant into bankruptcy and divide up his assets. Debtors are carried along, and in times like those of the past five years the whole business community mutually forbears and mutually carries itself along, piling up a large merchandise debt for importations.

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XV - THE CUBAN PEOPLE

The population of the island in 1919 was 2,889,004. Nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants are native Cubans. About 185,000 were born in Spain and the remainder are largely Americans, negroes and Chinamen. The negroes are most thickly settled in Oriente, where 43% of the people are black. They are least numerous in Camaguey, where they are about 18% of the population. Because Spain owned the island from its discovery until 1898, the official language is Spanish, but English is gaining remarkable headway. When independence was secured 59% of Cubans over 10 years of age were illiterate. Eight years later the native illiteracy had been reduced to 43% during the time when new educational facilities were not yet fully established.

A - Aboriginal Inhabitants. The two ends of the island appeared in Columbus' day to have been occupied by different races. Of the inhabitants of the western end we know comparatively little, save that they were more warlike and adventurous than those of the east, and several authorities have linkened them either to the Caribs or to the Mayas of Yucatan. That they were Mayas seems, however, doubtful, since they

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left no traces of the high degree of civilization which formerly prevailed among that distinguished race in Yucatan.

The people of the eastern end of Cuba, when the island was discovered by Columbus, were doubtless of Antillan stock, or Tainan, as some have called them, with possibly a slight admixture of Carib, though not sufficient materially to affect them in any respect. They were physically a handsome, stalwart people, of a light reddish brown color, somewhat lighter than the North American Indians. They lived in neatly constructed cabins of cane or bamboo and thatch, rectangular or circular in form and generally of two or three rooms each, equipped with furniture of cane or of handsomely carved wood. These houses were, according to early Spanish testimony, kept scrupulously clean and neat. They were grouped in villages, around a central square which served as a market place and playground. They were agriculturists, tilling the ground with considerably skill and producing yucca, corn, beans, peanuts, squashes, peppers and various other crops, besides fruits and tobacco. They were singularly expert fishermen, and for the purpose of that pursuit they constructed fine canoes, of the hollowed boles of large trees, but to swimming.

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unlike the Caribs, they do not seem to have resorted to navigation for any other purpose. They also hunted game on the land, solely for food, but their hunting was much restricted, since there were no large animals of any kind in the island. Their manufactures were confined to primitive cotton weaving, wood-carving, basketry, pottery, and various stoneware implements.

In disposition and manners they were friendly, hospitable, courteous and confiding. Despite their nudity, they had the unconscious modesty of nature, and their morals were superior to those of most primitive peoples. The tradition that venereal diseases prevailed among them and were thus first made known to European peoples through their having been acquired from the natives by Columbus' men, seems to be quite void of foundation; indubitable proof exists of the prevalence of those diseases in both Europe and Asia at an earlier date than Columbus' time. They practised but recognized domestic, social and civic equality of the sexes. They were almost universal tobacco smokers, and it was from them that the use of that plant was first learned. They were pleasure loving, much given to dancing, to games of ball, and to swimming.

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They had, it is obvious, nothing which could survive them as a memorial of their existence. Their architecture, if so it may be called, was most perishable. They had no art, save in pottery, and that was not

(1) William Hatcher Johnson, "The History of Cuba," Vol. I, pages 8-10.

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highly developed. They had no literature. The result was that when they perished through unfavorable contact with a more powerful and aggressive race they left scarcely a trace of themselves, save in the records and testimony of their conquerors and destroyers. Some specimens of their pottery have been preserved. The words hammock and canoe come to us from them and the use of tobacco is their universal memorial.

Such were the aborigines, if not the absolute autochthones, of Cuba. Their only history lives in the brief and scanty records of them made by their destroyers. They left no enduring impress upon the island, save its name. How many they were is unknown, and estimates which are mere guesses differ widely. In a single generation they disappeared, partly through slaughter and partly through such diseases as small pox and measles, which were introduced to the island by the Spaniards and which the natives were unable to resist. (1)

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which is all prevalent and in the indifference to pursuits that demand patient investigation, hard intellectual effort or scientific accuracy. If the Cubans go in for anything it is for politics and candidates for offices will never be wanting from the presidency down. They possess patriotism, love of liberty, courage and resolution. There is something likable about them and something hopeful. (1)

Cuba is by nature disposed to pleasure, and there is much to amuse and entertain. There are many holidays, or fiestas, traditionally picturesque and spectacular. In the smallest village, in the settlements around the great sugar mills, as well as in towns and cities, there is a constant round of dances, picnics and gatherings where clubs, members of regional societies, and all the varied social effervescences of a fun-loving people seek opportunity to mingle together and make merry. At carnival time, and around Christmas and New Year all faces must be mirthful, even though some hearts may be sad. On the religious feast days and holidays, the outpouring of people of all sexes and ages is most notable. On patriotic occasions houses are decorated with palm leaves, flags and streamers. (2)

(1) Grose "Advance in the Antilles", page 67.

(2) Bulletin, Cuban Tourist Commission, "Cuba", p.2.

1. Foods. It must be noted that the food habits of Cuban country folk are incomprehensible to most Americans. The rural Cuban of the laboring class is very simple in his food requirements. The fact that thousands of the interior population can get along on a very small expenditure for clothing and can find shelter for almost nothing, combined with their simple requirements in food, explains in a measure, how five long years of progressive depression have been passed without widespread misery. When employment is steady and wages are stable, even the most humble of those who live in palm-thatched huts in the back country insist upon certain manufactured foods, such as rice, condensed milk, salt pork, and canned sausages, but when this same worker lacks money, he and his family can live on plantains, yucca, and mangoes, with what else they can pick up, and continue well nourished and happy. The lowly sugar cane is a universal article of food in the country and is apparently remarkable for food value.

2. Work. Undoubtedly the average Cuban's attitude toward work is a great factor in the new economic

readjustment. There is a small part of the population, which can be variously counted as being from 40,000 to 250,000 in numbers, whose standard of living is so far above that of the people as a whole as to put it in a separate classification so far as the market for imported merchandise is concerned. On the other hand, in the social structure of the Cuban nation there are no class distinctions in the technical sense. That is, the word peon is hardly ever heard, and while there are "old families" of names known and respected on the island and even titled families who retain the old Spanish rank in name, the deference to these accorded by other Cubans is wholly voluntary, and the differences in social condition that exist are almost wholly owing to personal energy, abilities, and wealth. The majority of the Cuban people who graduate from the poor to the well-to-do classes do so by virtue of their intelligent appreciation of good things when they can be obtained and the will to work in order to live on a better scale.

capacity that others can hardly understand for meeting adversity 3. Living conditions. The Cuban people in their life as individuals, are capable of contracting their living costs and living along, indefinitely down upon them. (1)

(1) U.S. "Trade Information Bulletin," 723, pp. 3-5, 25.

to an extent that we in the United States can hardly understand. In the country, laborers' families are literally existing on a few cents a day, and the youngsters are lively and ready with a laugh at any moment. Havana families, their income disappearing through loss of positions, etc., are moving to the country where some have lands and where they expect to live on a few dollars a month until they can do better. Cuban women have gone extensively into the making of their own clothing; and in rural inland towns one sees the Cuban girls freshly attired in the latest style, their dresses made at home from inexpensive cotton goods and their entire wardrobe done at a cost measured within a dollar or two, but spic and span and worn with an air. By the way, there is the general impression that most Cuban fortunes come from politics or gambling. The Cuban enjoys display and extravagance, and derives a substantial satisfaction in having a house or a car showier than his neighbor's; but he has the capacity that others can hardly understand for enduring adversity and accepting poverty without thinking it a disgrace; and the Cubans do not regard the poverty of their neighbors and friends as a reason for looking down upon them. (1)

(1) U.S. "Trade Information Bulletin # 725", pp.5-6,25.

4. Women. Cuban women in the past knew but one ambition--marriage. From earliest childhood the girls were taught to make themselves attractive to the male sex....Those who could afford servants did not work, for any sort of work was degradating, and for a Cuban woman or man, either to carry even a small package in the street would have been to lose caste. However, under American influence customs and habits have greatly changed, and in thousands of cases wives have worked in order to supplement the reduced income of their husbands.

5. Manners and customs. The island is a few miles from our shores, yet is almost as foreign as Egypt or Japan. You sail from New York in a January blizzard and in three days are in a land where stoves or furnaces for heating purposes are needless and unknown. That general fact signifies another type of civilization with differences which affect the mode of living, styles of building, methods of business and ultimately the habits of thought and product of character.

There are distinct phases of life in Cuba: the life in Havana, with its gradations of rich, middle and poor; the life in the smaller cities with small subdivisions, although not such contrasts; life in the rural districts, also having gradations, and life on the great sugar, coffee and tobacco plantations with its unique features.

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one ambition--marriage. From earliest childhood the girls were taught to make themselves attractive to the male sex....Those who could afford servants did not work, for any sort of work was degrading, and for a Cuban woman or man, either to carry even a small package in the street would have been to lose caste. However, under American influence customs and habits have greatly changed, and in thousands of cases wives have worked in order to supplement the reduced income of their husbands.

5. Manners and customs. The island is a few

miles from our shores, yet is almost as foreign as Egypt or Japan. You sail from New York in a January blizzard and in three days are in a land where gloves or furcoats for heating purposes are needless and unknown. That general fact signifies another type of civilization with differences which affect the mode of living, styles of building, methods of business and ultimately the habits of thought and product of character. There are distinct phases of life in Cuba: the life in Havana, with its gradations of rich, middle and poor; the life in the smaller cities with small subdivisions, although not such contrasts; life in the rural districts, also having gradations, and life on the great sugar, coffee and tobacco plantations with its unique features.

6. Cities. While the lesser cities have their own characteristics, in main features they are all alike. All are built around the Spanish plaza, or public square. Here, always in most prominent places, is the cathedral or church. Here too are the finest public and private buildings. The plaza has foliage and flowers, promenades and bandstands, and very likely some statuary.

7. Courtship. A word should be said concerning the Cuban youngman who is in love and the customs of courtship. The girl is taught from childhood that the primary object of her life is to catch a beau. The code is this: when a youngman fixes his eyes upon a young woman longingly, he walks repeatedly pass the window and tries to gain her attention. If she looks with favor upon him after a time a few words are exchanged. This continues until the mother has a chance to learn whether he is a proper suitor. If so, he may be given leave to call formally and the window courtship is given up for the parlor rocking-chair in which he sits facing not only the fair one, but her mother or other chaperon, for the couple must not be left alone a minute. Until they have been to church, the two are never left alone. The whole family takes sly turns in watching them.

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8. Funeral customs. If you chance to see a funeral procession of the wealthy class it is a pompous show. The hearse is gorgeous, the horses are in trappings of orange or purple and black. You note that there are only men present, for the place of the mourning women is held to be at home. On the arrival at the cemetery the coffin is borne on the shoulders of four bearers to the grave. In the funerals of the poorer classes the coffin is borne on the shoulders of bearers or friends from the house to the cemetery. There are graves for rent, for temporary occupancy, as well as permanent ones. At the expiration of the term the bones are removed and thrown to the osario, or bone-pit. Here are heaped indiscriminately skeletons, fragments of coffins, and discarded tombstones. (1)

9. Other Customs. Throughout the island many customs of colonial days still hold. In Havana, of course, is the greatest concentration of civic, cultural and social activity, also of sports and diversions natural to a great cosmopolitan center. Havana has been called the Paris of America. "As soon as you step off the gangplank, or out of the airplane cabin,

(1) Grose "Advance in the Antilles", pages 67, 191.

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(1) Gross "Advance in the Antilles", pages 87, 191.

you sense the difference of your new environment. The smile of the customs official bespeaks the friendliness of this foreign country. The minimizing of entry red tape reveals that you are expected and welcome to this land of gorgeous adventure and romance." (1)

Havana has ever been the favorite playground of the Americas; lately it has been discovered as one of the most healthful spots on the globe.

In Havana, "the street resounds with noise of traffic. Mule carts contest the narrow way with motor trucks, loaded with products from the wide world. There are silks from China, perfumes from France, chinaware from England, toys from Germany, machinery, cotton goods, shoes and countless other commodities from the United States for the embellishment and delight of the dusky-eyed senoritas, and for the industry of the men of Cuba. Your first glance brings home a realization that you are at last in a foreign city. Delectable tropical drinks for refreshment, especially a native fruit-juice drink called pina fria colada, or strained pineapple juice. Big Moorish crabs with their firm, sweet meat, natural, devilled or gratine for a delicious luncheon. For

(1) "Cuban Tourdata", page 3.

the afternoon to the Jockey Club.....Dinner a la tropics. The cuisine is for the most part French with hors d'ouvres, but the pride of the Chef is Arroz con Pollo, chicken with rice.....The caves harbor excellent French wines, and sunny Spanish vintages. For dancing, captivating Cuban music..... Then Jai-Alai at the old Fronton of Concordia street, packed with shouting fans.....(1)

Many cities have laid claim to be the Paris of America: Caracas, Venezuela, has something of the flair. But she is small and like Brussels, merely calls herself a little Paris. Mexico City is seductive in her own strange, sorrowful way. The haughty Castillian has here mingled with the Aztec Indian, and the result is semi-Oriental. When Mexico is not wading through the bloodsplashed melodrama of one of her incredibly picturesque revolutions, she gestures in a dance of life that is somehow both vivid and sad. This is no Paris, but a Granada of the Moors or a Moscow of the Tartars, with a Western Latin foundation. Buenos Aires also has been entered in the list. With her broad boulevards and Frenchified architecture, she undoubtedly has the air. But the commercial instincts of Buenos Aires make her the centuries of Spanish dominion have left their

(1) Taddy Valmar "My first experience to Columbusland".

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Chicago of South America, rather than the Paris of the New World. The ancient streets and houses of Havana are pure Creole in style. They owe their charm to wrought-iron balconies, massive carved doors. But wherever the city has been improved for reasons of decoration, we get an effect of the spaciousness of Parisian avenues. The Prado has become cosmopolitan after the manner of Montparnasse. This is where the new open-air cafes are located. The sidewalk cafes, as some one has said, "have fostered an elegant leisure, where art comes before money-making and hope is high for a perfect State".

10. Cuban Characteristics. Each one of the Spanish American countries has gradually acquired its own special physiognomy, in which the climate, the people, race, their education and styles have collaborated. Cuba has felt the influence of the United States, due to its proximity, its political-military interventions, its commercial relations, and to the gratitude which Cuba feels toward the nation that helped her gain her liberty. Nevertheless, although modernized, she has not been Americanized. Four centuries of Spanish dominion have left their

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indelible seal, on its race, its culture, its language and its architecture and customs. France has influenced its literature. Italy has influenced its music to which the black race has imparted marvellous rhythms, known throughout the world: the danzon, son and rumba. All these present the characteristics which make Cuba different from the other Spanish American countries. Cuba is, therefore, an old, and at the same time, modern country. There is quite a contrast to be noted in walking through the narrow, colonial streets admiring its edifices constructed of carved stone, when you suddenly emerge into the new sections where the palaces of the wealthy families denote good taste, comfort and richness. In the public places, the clubs, the ✓ Casino, the Hippodrome, the gay disposition and innate refinement of the Cubans are evidenced. Life in Cuba harmonizes the old and the new; traditions, customs, edifices.....commerce, industries, sports.....the intellectual, scientific, literary and artistic life... A country in evolution, anxious to occupy a place in the front line, which in many aspects it has already reached.

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CHAPTER II

PUERTO RICO (1)

I - DESCRIPTION

Puerto Rico has been often called the Switzerland of America, or the Island of Enchantment, due to its beautiful landscape and its marvelous vistas of everlasting verdure. It is 100 miles long by 35 miles wide, surrounded by a deep cobalt-blue sea which reflects the everchanging cumulous clouds on the sky above. Its climatic conditions are ideal. Save for a few spots on the southern and northern coast, the rest of the island, especially the interior mountain regions, is just right in temperature. An eternal summer reigns supreme.

The coastal plains between the sea and the majestic mountains extending across the central part of the island like a huge backbone, are mostly sugarcane fields forming a blanket of emerald in which all

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Hyatt Verrill "Puerto Rico Past and Present", p.18.

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the shades of green are represented; beyond, the tobacco fields, covered with cheese-cloth to protect the leaves; and farther still, running into the very heart of the island, the coffee plantations with the dark-green coffee bushes, growing under the shade of large trees and spotted with the red of berries when in season. Besides, innumerable views here and there in which all the colors of the rainbow are well represented. This is just a faint idea of what Puerto Rico looks like. (1)

But this beautiful land does not belong to the Puerto Ricans. It is mostly in the hands of absentee corporations, which have control of the Puerto Rican wealth and the Puerto Rican destiny.

(1) "When the Americans took possession of the island, Puerto Rico was like all true Spanish American countries, quaint, quiet, picturesque and with an undefinable charm or atmosphere impossible to picture or describe. For four hundred years the people had lived in more or less the same manner, their homes were Spanish or Moorish style, their lives were simple and wants few, business worries, financial reverses or competition troubled them not. Today all has greatly changed. Puerto Rico is a busy, bustling up-to-date and modern country, far ahead of most American communities of equal size. In the transformation much of the charm, the picturesqueness and the Old World atmosphere have been lost and while we may admire and appreciate the conveniences and modern improvements, yet we cannot but regret the fact that in obtaining these we have been compelled to sacrifice such a large part of the true Spanish American life and atmosphere."

Hyatt Verrill "Puerto Rico Past and Present", p.12.

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II - HISTORY

Columbus, son of the Great Admiral,

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a young Columbus then proceeded to Santo Domingo, first giving the name of San Juan Bautista to the Island in honor of Prince Juan, heir to the Spanish throne. After a stay in Santo Domingo lasting fifteen years, Ponce de Leon, who had never forgotten the beauties of Borinquen, persuaded Governor Nicolas de Ovando to supply him with ships and men with which

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Trouble with the Indians due to the forced labor required of them by the Spaniards now commenced to threaten, and an outbreak against the white men was only postponed by the belief of the natives in the immortality of the strangers. Finally, they plucked up enough courage to make a test and captured a young Spaniard named Diego Salcedo. This unfortunate man they held under water until he was apparently dead and watched his body for several days until Nature gave sure evidence that life was extinct. Then came the Indian revolt. Acting with his usual

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"Take us to Peru" became the cry of disgruntled promptness Ponce de Leon did not wait for reinforcements from Santo Domingo but took the field with a force of only 120 men and after severe fighting succeeded in crushing the rebellion. Hundreds of Indians were slaughtered.

Negro slavery was introduced in Puerto Rico in 1513, this being no innovation among the Spaniards for many negro and mulatto slaves were held in Spain long before the discoveries of Columbus and the Inquisition commenced to function on the Island in 1519.

War having broken out between France and Spain, the former nation despatched vessels to prey on the West Indian colonies of the latter and in 1528 a French landing party sacked and burned the town of San German. Fearing that a similar attack would be made on San Juan, the Spanish Government authorized in 1529 the erection of the Fortaleza, but through lack of funds the work did not commence until 1533.

News of the golden discoveries in Peru and the conquests made by Pizarro had by this time reached Puerto Rico and the authorities had to take strenuous action to prevent the Island from becoming depopulated.

"Take me to Peru" became the cry of disgruntled colonists and the Governor had to threaten to hang anyone attempting to leave the Island before it subsided. For several years no Spanish ships were allowed to touch Puerto Rico.

One good result of the discontent registered by the colonists was that when they found the door of emigration barred they turned their attention more strenuously to agriculture. Sugar cane had been introduced from Santo Domingo and the first shipment of the product from Puerto Rico was made in 1533.

Not till 1595 did the defenses of San Juan receive their baptism of fire and when the event finally took place it resulted in a Spanish victory and a stinging defeat for one of England's most intrepid naval commanders, Sir Francis Drake.

Disheartened at his lack of success and his heavy losses Drake sailed away with his fleet vowing that he would yet "sing the beard of the King of Spain".

And now San Juan, though confident in its ability to repel invaders, busied itself anew with the strengthening of its defenses for the inhabitants realized that after such a rebuff to English pride reprisal would be attempted. They did not have long

to wait, for on the 6th of June, 1598, the fleet of the Duke of Cumberland hove in sight and disembarked 1000 men on the beach of Cangrejos, as Santurce (near San Juan) was then called. The British forced their way into the city which they found abandoned as the citizens had sought refuge in El Morro. The forts of San Antonio, San Geronimo, and San Cristobal had not yet been built nor had other landward walls of defense. In order to spare the civilian refugees the horror of an assault the Spaniards surrendered on the 20th of June and the next day the British fleet sailed into the harbor.

The English commander desired to convert Puerto Rico into a British colony, but as the Spaniards said, "God desired otherwise". Sickness broke out among his troops and he was forced to abandon the project. British occupation lasted but 157 days although it was long remembered by the people of San Juan, as Cumberland's vessels carried away almost everything of value that was movable, including church bells and ordnance.

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Puerto Rico had suffered much during the sixteenth century not only by the constant attacks of the English but by internal dissensions, plagues, famine, and by the emigration of its people to other parts of America.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century no roads existed except Indian trails. Interior commerce was carried on by means of rivers where they were navigable. Puerto Rican exports were shipped only from San Juan and the Island often had but one vessel a year from Spain, even that being sometimes delayed. But little actual money was in circulation and salaries of government officials were partially paid in the products of the country.

In 1625 the Dutch, who were then at war with Spain, sent a fleet to the West Indies with instructions to take possession of Puerto Rico. According to tradition the Dutch commander, after the siege of San Juan had lasted for five days, offered to fight any Spanish officer single handed. In case he became the victor the fort was to surrender to him, and in case of defeat, he was to withdraw his forces. Captain Juan de Amezquita y Quijano responded to the challenge and a fierce combat ensued resulting in the defeat of

Bodwain who was severely wounded by a sword-thrust in the neck. True to his word the Dutchman withdrew his forces and left the harbor, but he first fired the town of San Juan, destroying more than a hundred houses. A monument erected on the former Calvary, a plateau with an immense cross which had been erected there by officials of the Church, commemorates the heroism of the Spanish garrison.

Morgan, Cook, Grand, Captain Kidd, and other notorious free-booters, all operated from time to time in Puerto Rican waters and pounced on the treasure ships enroute from Mexico to San Juan with funds for the maintenance of the Government.

Often when such vessels were captured Puerto Rican authorities were unable to pay the bills which they had contracted and the colony was practically moneyless for long periods. But notwithstanding devastating cyclones, pirate raids, internal dissensions and the capture of treasure vessels, the settlement of Puerto Rico forged steadily ahead and by the end of the seventeenth century the separate municipalities of Aguada, Ponce, Coamo, Arecibo and Loiza were functioning in addition to those of San Juan and San German. Tributary to the first-named were the villages of Fajardo, Humacao, Guayama, Manati, Hormigueros and Anasco.

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Early in the eighteenth century the English and Dutch formed an alliance against the French and Spanish and in 1702 the English with a small expedition attempted to capture the town of Arecibo, but after a sharp skirmish they were driven off. In November of the same year a similar expedition was equally unsuccessful.

Puerto Rico witnessed the enforcement of a prohibition law in 1749. The pretext for this law, which was promulgated in Spain, was that the use of aguardiente and other drinks made from sugar cane was prejudicial to the health of the people of Puerto Rico and the manufacture of such beverages was forbidden under heavy penalties. Its real reason for existence was the fact that the wine manufacturers of Spain had complained that Puerto Ricans did not purchase enough of their products and because the duties collected on wine imports at San Juan had fallen off in consequence.

The culture of coffee, now one of the principal industries of the Island, was commenced in 1755 and gradually assumed importance, in ten years Puerto Rican coffee becoming so popular in the Virgin Islands that the Danish authorities declared it contraband and placed heavy duties on its importation.

The American colonies having declared themselves free and independent in 1775, were officially recognized by the Spanish Government, and King Charles III authorized all American vessels to enter the ports of Spanish possessions. In 1796 Charles IV of Spain formed a defensive and offensive alliance with France and war with Great Britain was the immediate result. On the morning of April 18, 1797, more than 3,000 British troops landed at Santurce, their ships covering their advance by well-directed cannonading. Considerable fighting took place along both the front and rear of the British lines, but on the night of April 30 the invaders suddenly gave up the battle and departed, leaving in the hands of the Spaniards considerable ordnance and supplies as well as a number of prisoners. The Venezuelan revolution of 1810 soon was felt in Puerto Rico and men commenced to talk of self-government. The population of the island then numbered more than 500,000 and was rapidly increasing. Santo Domingo declared its independence in 1821 and Governor Gonzalo de Arostegui was asked to proclaim the independence of Puerto Rico, but being loyal to

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Spain, he refused to do so. (1) By 1873 the desire for political liberty was stirring strongly in Spain and in that year the Cortes framed a new constitution for the monarchy. Among the articles of this constitution one provided that Spanish possessions should be governed by special law. The Cortes also levied a war contribution of 500,000 pesos on Puerto Rico, and to this the inhabitants of the island objected.

The importation of slaves from Africa had been stopped in 1820 but this did not abolish slavery in Puerto Rico and many negroes were smuggled into the island. In 1834 Great Britain abolished slavery in all its dominions and the act so stirred the slaves in Puerto Rico that in 1843 it became necessary to call out the militia to subdue a servile revolt among the negroes at Toa Baja. In 1848 Governor Prim promulgated what was known as the Black Code. By it all offenses by negroes, whether slaves or free, against members of the white race would be punished by a military tribunal. All farmers were authorized to kill their slaves in case

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of revolt. The Black Code was repealed by Prim's successor after it had been in force for six months and it was decreed that the whip be used to punish slaves instead of inflicting the death penalty.

Spain had been promising for many years to enact special laws for Cuba and Puerto Rico, and in 1865 called commissioners from these islands to Madrid to state their desires in the matter of administrative reform. (1) In 1867 Jose Julian Acosta, Segundo Ruiz Belvis, and Francisco Mariano Quinones ardently presented the case for the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico to the Spanish Government. One of the most famous of Spanish republicans spoke before the Cortes in favor of abolition, saying in part that "private interests should not be permitted to dominate the rights of humanity". Soon after the short-lived Spanish Republic was proclaimed on the 11th of February, 1873, slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico and the rights of humanity triumphed. The abolition of slavery caused no disorder in the island although the negroes rejoiced in obtaining their freedom. (2)

(1) See "Cuba", page 15.

(2) "Puerto Rico is the only country in the world that abolished slavery voluntarily and deliberately by the will of her own people. The slave holders abolished slavery there. It was done in a night without bloodshed and without friction." "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science", 1905, Vol. XXVI, page 55.

The Spanish Republic officially recognized the inhabitants of Puerto Rico as Spaniards, elections for representatives were held, new municipal laws were put in force and schools were established. The freedom of the press was also recognized, but in 1874 the Republic came to an end, and in many ways the Government of Puerto Rico reverted to its former unsatisfactory status, the freedom of the press being again restricted and several reform laws repealed. The desire for autonomy grew stronger in Puerto Rico and the Spanish Government, fearing a revolution like that which was taking place in Cuba, issued a decree on November 28, 1897, granting local government to the island in its internal affairs.

But Spain did not have to fear a revolution. "The respect for law is a notable characteristic of the Puerto Ricans. They are not turbulent or violent. Riots are almost unknown in the island. So is organized resistance to law. They are not criminal people. The most violent crimes are by no means common. Burglary is almost unknown. There are many cases of homicide, but the number in proportion to population is not as large as in the United States. Thievery is the most common crime and petty cases make up a large part of

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the list of offenses. The people as a whole are a moral law-abiding class, mild in disposition, easy to govern and possess the possibilities of developing a high type of citizenship." (1) After the issuance of the decree on 1897, an assembly of district representatives was organized and elections held, and an upper house appointed by the Governor as well as a cabinet consisting of five heads of departments and a president. Before this organization could commence to function, war was declared between the United States and Spain in April, 1898.

A - The American Occupation. On October 18 the United States took formal possession of the island and the American flag was raised over the fortifications of San Juan, Major General John R. Brooke becoming Military Governor.

"All classes of natives of the island welcomed the American army, American occupation and American methods, and accepted without hesitation the Stars and Stripes in place of the Red and Yellow Stars.

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They had not been disloyal to the old flag, but it had come to represent to them particularly during the present century in which a class feeling developed between the insular and the peninsular Spaniards, partiality and oppression. Puerto Ricans generally complained that the former government discriminated in favor of the Spaniards who in the distribution of offices were preferred to the natives and who had by the powerful influence of the authorities prospered in business, as bankers, merchants, manufacturers or agricultorists. They also insisted that the internal improvement of the island was neglected, that agriculture bore more than its share of the burden of taxation, and that the assessments were very inequitable and unequal. Also that education was not fostered and that in general the welfare of the people was not the first concern of their rulers." (1)

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The Insular Cabinet was dissolved on February 6, 1899, but four departments were established, these being State, Justice, Finance and Interior. A Board of Health for the Island was also established, and Puerto Rican currency was replaced by that of the United States. General Henry (who relieved Major General Brooke) did away with the punishment of chains, irons and stocks. He also organized the Insular Police Force, and government lottery and cockfighting were abolished during his able administration.

General Davis, who followed General Henry as Governor, abolished the four departments organized by the latter and created the Bureau of State and Municipal Affairs, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Bureau of Agriculture, the Bureau of Education, and the Bureau of Public Works. Trials by jury were authorized and several boards were organized. These boards were those of the Judiciary, Charities, Prison Control and Insular Police. The Organized Act which established a civil government in Puerto Rico was passed by the United States Congress on April 12, 1900, and on May 1st Charles H. Allen was inducted into office as the first Civil Governor of the island.

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On June 28, the Executive Council, the Upper House of the Legislature, consisting of Six Americans, who were also heads of government departments, and five residents of Puerto Rico, all appointed by the President of the United States, met and organized. A general election was held on November 6 of the same year, at which 35 Puerto Ricans were chosen as members of the House of Delegates, the other branch of the Legislature. These elective delegates met with the Executive Council in the first session of the Legislative Assembly on December 3, 1900, and continued in session until January 31, 1901, having passed 36 laws necessary for the complete establishment of civil government, and providing for a system of taxation and internal revenue.

The island's growth since the establishment of civil government has been rapid and constant. Development in every line is apparent. Legislation both in the island and in Washington has been designed to meet the changing conditions and needs of the people. American citizenship was granted in 1917 with the passage of the Jones Act which provided as well a more liberal local government, placing more responsibility and greater opportunities in the hands of the new

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citizens. An elective Senate took the place of the appointive upper house of the Legislature and most heads of departments were made appointees of the Governor, rather than of the President. (1)

III - GOVERNMENT

A - Under Spanish Rule. The civil government of the island was the Governor General and the Governor General was the civil government. All power was lodged in his hands and he was accountable only to Madrid. He was at once the executive, the legislative and the judicial head. As Captain General he had chief command of the military forces and made such disposition of them as he chose. As Governor General he conducted civil affairs whether insular or municipal, according to his own pleasure. As the position was one of great power and of large opportunities for pecuniary profit it not infrequently went to those who were prepared to exploit it on their own interests. (2) In 1536 the legislation was

(1) "Register of Puerto Rico for 1926", pp.1-20.

(2) In this connection, the following is taken from "The Christian Century" of March 21, 1932: "Exploitation in Puerto Rico Still a Happy-hunting Ground: When William Jennings Bryan was Secretary of State he wrote to the American Diplomatic Representative in Santo Domingo during the military occupation of that republic, inquiring what places in the local administration of Dominican affairs could be provided for deserving democrats. The habit of

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enacted for changing the method of government and for the regulation of public property and common pasturages. But notwithstanding all this for many years the form of control alternated between alcaldes selected by the inhabitants and annual governors appointed by the Council of the Indies. (1)

B - Present Political Organization. On July 25, 1898, in the course of the Spanish-American War, the first American forces, commanded by General Nelson A. Miles, made their landing at Guanica, Puerto Rico. On July 28, 1898, General Miles issued a proclamation to the people of Puerto Rico containing the following statement regarding laws and government: "It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration, of order, and justice."

looking to the less conspicuous outposts of American Governmental influence to provide rewards for deserving party men and women has had some notable illustrations in Puerto Rico....The people of the island are being exploited on the one hand by financial interests concerned with dividends on sugar and tobacco, and on the other hand by political adventurers who find an easy life and plenty of good pickings here."

(1) "The New Learned History", Vol. VIII, page 6838.

The treaty of Paris, signed at Paris on December 10, 1898, ended the Spanish-American War. The treaty was ratified by Spain on March 19, 1899, and was ratified and proclaimed by the United States Government on April 11, 1899. By article 2 of this treaty the island of Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, and by article 9 the civil rights and political status of its native inhabitants were to be determined by Congress.

C - The Foraker Act. On April 12, 1900, Congress passed an act entitled "An Act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes", generally known as the Foraker Act. From 1898, the date of the occupation, up to the time of the enactment of this first organic act the island was under military government.

Under the provisions of this act the government of Puerto Rico was divided into three branches: the executive, composed of the governor and six heads of departments appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; the legislative, composed of an executive council, consisting of 11 members, 5 of whom were branch of the government. The seat of government is San Juan, a beautiful, interesting, modern city.

native inhabitants of Puerto Rico appointed also by the President with the consent of the Senate, and the other 6 were the heads of departments, and a house of delegates of 35 members elected by the people; and the judiciary, with the powers which were vested in the courts and tribunals already established and then in operation.

D - The Jones Act. On March 2, 1917, Congress passed an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes", generally known as the Jones Act. This second organic act, as amended by a recent act of Congress, approved March 4, 1927 (Public, No. 797, 69th Cong.), is in force at the present time and supersedes the Foraker Act.

1. Legislative Power. The present organic act abolished the executive council, whose members exercised both executive and legislative functions, and in its place instituted the present senate, the members of which are elected by the people at the polls. This senate and a house of representatives, a body very similar to the old house of delegates instituted by the Foraker Act, compose the legislative branch of the government. The seat of government is San Juan, a beautiful, interesting, modern city.

2. Executive Power. The Governor of Puerto Rico is appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and holds his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified. Important among the governor's power is the one which gives him the right to veto the bills approved by both houses. According to the Foraker Act a bill became a law in spite of the governor's veto if, after being reconsidered, it was passed by both houses by a two-thirds majority in each; whereas now, under the Jones Act, in such an instance the bill does not become a law until the President gives his approval to the same, or if the President fails to approve or disapprove within 90 days from and after the submission of the bill for his approval it becomes a law as if specifically approved by him.

There are now the following executive departments:

Department of Justice; Department of Finance;
 Department of Interior; Department of Education;
 Department of Agriculture and Labor;
 Department of Health

With the exception of the Attorney General (head of the Department of Justice), and the Commissioner of Education (head of the Department of Education), who

remain, as before, presidential appointees, the heads of departments are appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of Puerto Rico, and hold their offices for the term of four years and until their successors are appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the governor. The President also appoints the Auditor of Puerto Rico; consent of the Senate is not necessary in this case. The governor appoints the executive secretary by and with the advice and consent of the senate of Puerto Rico.

3. Judicial Power. The judicial power under the Jones Act was left vested in the courts and tribunals of Puerto Rico established and in operation under and by virtue of existing laws.

Under existing laws there are at the present time functioning in the island the following courts:

1. The supreme court;
2. The district courts;
3. The municipal courts; and
4. Justices of the peace.

These are all insular courts and the Legislature of Puerto Rico has authority to organize, modify, or rearrange them and their jurisdiction and procedure in any way which is consistent with the organic act. Besides these courts, there also

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functions in Puerto Rico the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico, generally known as the Federal Court.

The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico is an appellate court and sits to pass upon the cases that come before it on appeal from the insular district courts. Appeals may be taken from the district courts to the Supreme Court if the amount involved is over \$300.00. It is a court of record, has a seal, and is composed of a chief justice and four associate justices who are all appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Writs of error and appeals from the final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court may be taken and prosecuted to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the first Circuit, which sits at Boston, and to the Supreme Court of the United States, as now provided by law. In all cases where the amount involved is over \$5,000, an appeal lies to the circuit court, and irrespective of the amount involved, appeals may also be taken to this court in cases in which writs of error may be taken from a State court.

There is a district court in each of the seven insular districts. The judges of the district

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United States not domiciled in Puerto Rico, wherein courts as well as those of the other inferior courts are appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate.

Municipal courts are not courts of record. They have jurisdiction to try cases in civil matters to the amount of \$500, including interest. Justices of the peace have jurisdiction to try cases which involve violations of municipal ordinances and other criminal matters in which the penalty imposed does not exceed a fine of \$15 or imprisonment for 30 days. Appeals from the decisions lie to the district courts.

The District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico, generally known as the Federal Court, was created by the Organic Act, and as such does not come within the regulation of the Legislature of Puerto Rico. One district judge sits in it and he is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This court has jurisdiction over all cases cognizable in the district courts of the United States, jurisdiction in matters of naturalization, and also over all controversies where all the parties on either side of the controversy are citizens or subjects of a foreign State or States, or citizens of a State, Territory, or District of the

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United States not domiciled in Puerto Rico, wherein the matter in dispute exceeds, exclusive of interest or cost, the sum of \$3,000.

In the insular courts all records are kept and all arguments are conducted in the Spanish language, and in the Federal Court the English language is used.

E - Interstate Commerce Acts. Section 38 of the Jones Act specifically provides that the interstate commerce act and the several amendments made to or to be made thereto, the safety appliance acts and the several amendments thereto, and the act of Congress entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An Act to regulate commerce, approved February 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, by providing for a valuation of the several classes of property of carriers subject thereto and securing information concerning their stocks, bonds and other securities", approved March 1, 1913, shall not apply to Puerto Rico.

F - Status of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. According to the decisions which have been rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States, Puerto Rico is

an organized but unincorporated territory. The definition of this question was at one time a very difficult issue before this great court. The Columbia Law Review for November, 1926 (Vol. XXVI, No. 7, p. 823), has a very complete article, written by a distinguished member of the New York bar, in which a clear analysis is made of the decisions of the Supreme Court bearing on this question.

The Jones Act extended United States citizenship to all Puerto Ricans.

G - Comparative study of the Organic Laws.

The following is a comparative study of the Organic Laws of Puerto Rico, approved November 25, 1897, April 12, 1900, and March 2, 1917, respectively:

1. Autonomy Chart (Approved November 25, 1897)

1. Legislative Branch. Composed of two bodies of equal powers: a Council of Administration and a Chamber of Representatives.

2. Upper House. Council of Administration. Composed of 15 members, eight elected by the people and seven appointed by the Governor General. Elective councilors were chosen for a term of five years, four every five years, and held office until the expiration of their terms unless the Council was dissolved by the Governor, in which case new elections were held to choose the eight elective councilors. Appointed councilors held office for life. Councilors were required to be Spanish subjects; at least 35 years old; natives of Puerto Rico or resident Spanish subjects,

with four years of constant residence; free from pending criminal prosecution; in full enjoyment of political rights; property holders, with their property free from attachment; and, in addition, they were required to have an annual income of four thousand pesos.

3. Lower House. Chamber of Representatives.

Composed of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants. Elected for five years. Members were required to be Spanish subjects; at least 21 years of age; natives of Puerto Rico or resident Spanish subjects, with four years of constant residence; free from pending criminal prosecution; in full enjoyment of civil rights. Representatives could be reelected.

4. Legislative Sessions. Insular Parliament.

Met every year. The Governor General had the right to convene, suspend, adjourn and dissolve Parliament. In case of suspension or dissolution, the Governor was obliged to reconvene or renew Parliament within three months.

5. Privileges of each House and of Members.

Each chamber had the right to elect its own officers; to pass rules for its proceedings; to judge the qualifications of its members and the legality of their election. Councilors and Representatives had immunity for their speeches and votes in Parliament. Councilors could not be arrested without a previous resolution of the Council unless caught in the act or when the Council was not in session. Representatives could not be arrested or indicted while Parliament was in session, unless found in fraganti. The above guarantees did not apply when the Councilor or Representative admitted the authorship of printed matter of a seditious or treasonable character. The Insular Parliament shared with the Governor, who acted through his Secretaries, the right to initiate and propose colonial status, except revenue laws, which could only originate in the Chamber of Representatives.

6. Legislative Powers. The Insular Parliament had power to legislate on:

(a) All matters not specially or expressly reserved to the Cortes or to the Central Government. (This power corresponds to the right of States of the

Union to legislate on matters not reserved to the Federal Government by the Constitution).

(b) All subjects concerning insular justice, public works, finance, education, agriculture and internal government.

(c) All matters of a purely local nature, including public health by land or sea and the monetary system. (This was an exclusive power of the Insular Parliament.

(d) The tariff, and to fix duties.

7. Legislative Limitations. The legislative powers of the Insular Parliament were limited by the Constitution of the Kingdom, which applied to Puerto Rico, and by specific provisions of the Autonomy Chart.

8. How Bills became Laws. All bills, except revenue bills, could originate in either chamber. Revenue bills could originate only in the Chamber of Representatives. The Governor, through his Secretaries, had the right to present bills in both chambers. Bills passed by both chambers had to be presented to the Governor General for his sanction and proclamation. If he signed them, they became laws. If he objected to them, he was required to forward the bills to the Council of Ministers who had a period of sixty days to approve or to reject them. If the Council of Ministers did not give its assent to the bills, these were returned to Parliament with a memorandum of objections. Parliament could, in view of the objections, reconsider or modify the bills. If the Council failed to express an opinion within sixty days, the bills became laws.

9. Executive Branch. The Governor General. The supreme authority was vested in a Governor General appointed by the King on the nomination of the Council of Ministers. The Governor General held office until his successor was appointed. No qualifications specified. Had the following powers:

- (a) Was vice-royal patron of the church;
- (b) Commanded the military and naval forces of the Island;

Union to legislate on matters not reserved to the Federal Government by the Constitution).

(b) All subjects concerning inland justice, public works, finance, education, agriculture and internal government.

(c) All matters of a purely local nature, including public health by land or sea and the monetary system. (This was an exclusive power of the Insular Parliament.)

(d) The tariff, and to fix duties.

7. Legislative Limitations. The legislative powers of the Insular Parliament were limited by the Constitution of the Kingdom, which applied to Puerto Rico, and by specific provisions of the Autonomy Chart.

8. How Bills became Laws. All bills, except revenue bills, could originate in either chamber. Revenue bills could originate only in the Chamber of Representatives. The Governor, through his Secretaries, had the right to present bills in both chambers. Bills passed by both chambers had to be presented to the Governor General for his sanction and promulgation. If he signed them, they became laws. If he objected to them, he was required to forward the bills to the Council of Ministers who had a period of sixty days to approve or to reject them. If the Council of Ministers did not give its assent to the bills, these were returned to Parliament with a memorandum of objections. Parliament could, in view of the objections, reconsider or modify the bills. If the Council failed to express an opinion within sixty days, the bills became laws.

9. Executive Branch. The Governor General. The supreme authority was vested in a Governor General appointed by the King on the nomination of the Council of Ministers. The Governor General held office until his successor was appointed. No qualifications specified. Had the following powers:

(a) Was vice-royal patron of the church;
(b) Commanded the military and naval forces of the Island;

- (c) Acted as delegate of the national departments of State, War, Navy and Colonies;
- (d) Appointed and removed without restriction the Secretaries of the Cabinet;
- (e) Could suspend national laws and certain constitutional guarantees;
- (f) Could convene, suspend, adjourn and dissolve Parliament;
- (g) Could take all measures that he deemed necessary to preserve the peace and safety of the colony;
- (h) Held direct diplomatic communication with the ministers, diplomatic agents and consuls of Spain in America;
- (i) Appointed seven councilors;
- (j) Granted pardons;
- (k) Had the following duties:
 - (1) To submit a budget to Parliament;
 - (2) To proclaim and execute all laws;
 - (3) To see that justice was administered;
 - (4) To maintain the rights of the colony.

10. The Cabinet. Composed of five Secretaries appointed by the Governor General. There were five Secretaryships:

- (1) Grace and Justice; and Interior;
- (2) Finance;
- (3) Public Education;
- (4) Public Works, Posts and Telegraph;
- (5) Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.

The secretaries of the Cabinet were responsible to the Insular Parliament. The Secretaries could be members of either chamber. As such they exercised legislative functions.

11. Judicial Branch. Territorial Court. Composed of a President and five judges appointed by the Governor General. Courts of First Instance and Criminal Audiencias: There were 12 Courts of First Instance and 3 Criminal Audiencias. Municipal Courts. Each municipality had one municipal court.

12. Appeals. From Territorial Court to Supreme Court of the Kingdom and finally to the King himself.

13. Municipal Government. Municipalities had power to frame their own laws on public education; highways by land river and sea; public health; municipal finance. They had authority to pass revenue laws not incompatible with the system of taxation. No colonial statute could abridge the above powers.

2. Foraker Act (Approved April 12, 1900).

1. Legislative Branch. Composed of two bodies: an Executive Council and a House of Delegates.

2. Upper House. Executive Council. Composed of 11 members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. At least 5 of the members had to be natives of Puerto Rico. Members held office for four years, subject to reappointment.

3. Lower House. House of Delegates. Composed of 35 members, 5 Delegates elected from each of seven districts, for two years. Delegates were required to be citizens of Puerto Rico or of the United States; at least 25 years of age, able to read and write either Spanish or English. In addition, they were required to have taxable property, real or personal, situated in Puerto Rico.

4. Legislative Sessions. Legislative Assembly. Met every year for a regular session which could not exceed 60 days. The Governor was empowered to call special sessions of unlimited duration.

5. Privileges of each House and of Members. Identical to # 5, Autonomy Chart, except as referred to origin of bills, which, in the Foraker Act, was as follows: All bills could originate in either house. The Governor had no right to initiate or propose legislation. He could only make recommendations.

6. Legislative Powers. The Legislative Assembly had power to legislate on such general matters as were specifically mentioned in the Organic Law. In this particular, the powers of the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Foraker Act were not as broad as those of the Insular Parliament created by the Autonomy Chart. The Legislative Assembly was specifically authorized to legislate on all matters of a local nature not locally inapplicable. This power corresponds, in a general way, to that of the Insular Parliament. (See # 2 under Autonomy Chart). The Legislative Assembly had no exclusive right to legislate on local matters. And it could not legislate on public health by sea, on the monetary system or on the tariff because these are Federal functions.

comparable to those of the Cabinet under the Autonomy Chart. There were 6 executive departments:

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1. Legislative Branch. Composed of two bodies: an Executive Council and a House of Delegates.

2. Upper House. Executive Council. Composed of 11 members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. At least 5 of the members had to be natives of Puerto Rico. Members held office for four years, subject to reappointment.

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4. Legislative Sessions. Legislative Assembly. Met every year for a regular session which could not exceed 60 days. The Governor was empowered to call special sessions of unlimited duration.

5. Privileges of each House and of Members. Identical to § 3, Autonomy Chart, except as referred to origin of bills, which, in the Foraker Act, was as follows: All bills could originate in either house. The Governor had no right to initiate or propose legislation. He could only make recommendations.

6. Legislative Powers. The Legislative Assembly had power to legislate on such general matters as were specifically mentioned in the Organic Law. In this particular, the powers of the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Foraker Act were not as broad as those of the Insular Parliament created by the Autonomy Chart. The Legislative Assembly was specifically authorized to legislate on all matters of a local nature not locally inapplicable. This power corresponded, in a general way, to that of the Insular Parliament. (See § 3 under Autonomy Chart.) The Legislative Assembly had no exclusive right to legislate on local matters. And it could not legislate on public health by act, on the monetary system or on the tariff because these are Federal functions.

7. Legislative limitations. The legislative powers of the Assembly were limited by the statutory laws of the United States not locally inapplicable or specifically excepted, and by the Organic Act.

8. How Bills Became Laws. Identical to # 8 in Autonomy Chart, except that the Governor had no right to initiate or propose legislation. Bills passed in each house by a majority vote were presented to the Governor for his signature. If he signed them within ten days, they became laws. If he did not approve the bills he was required to return them with his objections to the house where they had originated. The Legislative Assembly could pass a bill over the Governor's veto by a two-thirds majority. If the Governor failed to return a bill within ten days, it became a law unless the Legislative Assembly prevented its return by adjourning. Congress had the right to annul all the acts of the Legislative Assembly.

9. Executive Branch. The Governor. The Governor was appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Held office for four years unless sooner removed. No qualifications specified. Had the following powers:

- (a) Could grant pardons and reprieves and remit fines and forfeitures for offenses against the laws of Puerto Rico, and respites for offenses against the laws of the United States;
- (b) Commanded the militia;
- (c) Appointed and commissioned certain officers;
- (d) Had all the powers of governors of the Territories of the United States that were not locally inapplicable.
- (e) Had the following duties:
 - (1) Had to reside in Puerto Rico and maintain office at seat of government;
 - (2) Was required to report annually to the President;
 - (3) Had other duties that might be assigned to him by the President.

10. The Executive Council. Composed of 11 members appointed by the President. Only 6 of these members, the heads of executive departments, exercised functions comparable to those of the Cabinet under the Autonomy Chart. There were 6 executive departments:

3. (1) The Office of the Secretary of Puerto Rico;
 (2) The Office of the Attorney General;
 (3) The Treasury;
 (4) The Office of the Auditor;
 (5) The Department of the Interior;
 (6) The Department of Education.

The heads of departments were responsible only to the President. The heads of departments exercised legislative functions as members of the Upper House of the Legislature.

11. Judicial Branch. Supreme Court. Composed of one Chief Justice and four Associate Justices, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. District Courts. There were seven district courts (2 sections in San Juan). Municipal Courts. One in each of the principal municipalities.

12. Appeals. From Supreme Court of Puerto Rico to Boston Circuit Court and Supreme Court of the United States.

13. Municipal Government. The Legislature of Puerto Rico was granted power to create, consolidate and reorganize the municipalities.

3. Jones Act (Approved March 2, 1917).

1. Legislative Branch. Composed of two bodies: a Senate and a House of Representatives.

2. Upper House. Senate. Composed of 19 members: 2 elected from each of seven districts and 5 elected at large. Senators serve four years and the terms of the entire membership expire at the same time. They are elected by the qualified voters of each district, except the Senators-at-large, who are elected by the entire electoral body. Senators must be citizens of the United States, and, at least, 30 years of age. They must be able to read and write either English or Spanish; they must have resided in Puerto Rico for at least two consecutive years, and, except in the case of Senators-at-large, they must have been actual residents of the senatorial district for a period of at least one year prior to their election.

- (1) The Office of the Secretary of Puerto Rico;
- (2) The Office of the Attorney General;
- (3) The Treasury;
- (4) The Office of the Auditor;
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3. Jones Act (Approved March 3, 1917).

1. Legislative Branch. Composed of two bodies: a Senate and a House of Representatives.

2. Upper House. Senate. Composed of 19 members: 5 elected from each of seven districts and 5 elected at large. Senators serve four years and the terms of the entire membership expire at the same time. They are elected by the qualified voters of each district, except the Senators-at-large, who are elected by the entire electoral body. Senators must be citizens of the United States, and, at least, 30 years of age. They must be able to read and write either English or Spanish; they must have resided in Puerto Rico for at least two consecutive years, and, except in the case of Senators-at-large, they must have been actual residents of the senatorial district for a period of at least one year prior to their election.

3. Lower House. House of Representatives.

Composed of 39 members: 35 elected one from each of thirty-five representative districts, and 4 elected at large by the entire electoral body. Representatives serve four years. Representatives are required to be citizens of the United States; at least 25 years of age; able to read and write either Spanish or English; except in the case of Representatives-at-large, bona fide residents of their districts for at least one year prior to their election.

4. Legislative Sessions. Legislative Assembly.

Meets every two years for a regular session of unlimited duration. The session begins on the second Monday of February. The Governor may call special sessions of the Legislature or of the Senate, but these sessions may not last longer than 10 days. The Governor is required by law to call the Senate in special session at least once each year on the second Monday in February of those years in which a regular session of the Legislature is not provided for.

5. Privileges of each House and of Members.

Identical to # 5 of the Autonomy Chart, except as far as the Revenue bills are concerned. According to the Jones Act, Revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives; all other bills may originate in either house. The Governor submits a budget of receipts and expenditures which is the basis of the ensuing biennial appropriations.

6. Legislative Powers. The powers of the Legislative Assembly under this act are similar, in a general way, to those granted by the Foraker Act.

7. Legislative Limitations. The same as under the Foraker Act.

8. How Bills Become Laws. Same as under the Foraker Act, except that if the Governor objects to a bill he must return it with his objections to the house where it originated. If both houses pass the bill again by a two-third majority and the Governor still objects to it, he must forward it to the President. If the President approves the bill, he signs it and it becomes a law. If he does not approve it, he returns it to the Governor and the bill does not become a law. If the

President fails to act within ninety days, the bill becomes a law. If the Governor fails to return a bill within ten days it becomes a law unless the Legislative Assembly prevents its return by adjourning. In this case the Governor may sign the bill within thirty days. Congress has the right to annul all the acts of the Legislative Assembly.

9. Executive Branch. The Governor. As under the Foraker Act, the Governor is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. (United States). Holds office at the pleasure of the President. Has the following powers:

- (a) Supervises executive department;
- (b) Is commander-in-chief of the militia;
- (c) Same as (a) under the Foraker Act;
- (d) Appoints, with the advice and consent of the Insular Senate, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of the Interior, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Commissioner of Health, the Executive Secretary and the judges, fiscales, marshals and secretaries of all the courts except certain officers who are appointed by the President;
- (e) May mobilize the military and naval forces of the United States in Puerto Rico;
- (f) May suspend the writ of habeas corpus.
- (g) Duties: same as under Foraker Act.

10. The Executive Council. Composed of 6 members, two appointed by the President and four by the Governor. There are 6 executive departments:

- (a) The Department of Justice;
- (b) The Department of Finance;
- (c) The Department of the Interior;
- (d) The Department of Education;
- (e) The Department of Agriculture; and Labor
- (f) The Department of Health

The heads of departments are responsible to the Governor and to the President. The heads of departments do not exercise legislative functions.

11. Judicial Branch. Supreme Court. Constituted as under the Foraker Act. District Courts. Constituted as under the Foraker Act. Municipal Courts. Constituted as under the Foraker Act.

12. Appeals. Same as under Foraker Act.

13. Municipal Government. The power given to the Legislature under the Foraker Act to create, consolidate and reorganize the municipalities is continued under the Jones Act. (1)

H - Political Parties. With the inauguration of civil government in 1900 a political group calling itself the Republican Party came into power in the majority of municipalities and in the elected house of the legislature. A distinguishing characteristic of the party was its friendship for the United States. These American sympathies, however, did not prevent active agitation for more political rights for Puerto Rico. After 1904 the party was in the minority until it disappeared as a unit by splitting into two factions in 1924.

The Unionists were the dominant party after 1904, but in 1924 they combined with a minority of the Republicans forming the so-called Alliance, which has been dissolved since the last elections. The Unionists have always been strenuously opposed to restraints upon Puerto Rican autonomy, and have advocated the independence of the island though on numerous occasions their leaders have intimated that statehood would be welcome if offered.

(1) "Porto Rico Civics", by Francisco Vizcarrondo, pages 96-110.

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On April 11, 1934, a resolution was prepared and was discussed looking toward eventual statehood when and if relations with the mainland may be satisfactorily arranged. In this connection, I quote below from an article published by "The Christian Century", May 2, 1934. (1)

"Isolation of this part of the United States, with its special customs and emigration and internal revenue problems, as well as the cultural differences from the mainland and the large proportion of illiteracy will make it a slow and difficult process of adjustment. But there can hardly be any other eventual goal for such a populous territory, except statehood or independence. The laissez faire policy of the Federal Government in reference to Puerto Rico for these last 25 years ought not to continue longer. The proposal of the majority party in the legislature, a coalition of the Unionist-Republicans and the Socialists to ask Congress eventual statehood has called out from the Independentistas a vigorous protest.....It is a mistake to suppose that the majority of the Puerto Ricans want to break relations with the mainland or would like to get rid of all the continentals now residing in the island. Most of the Puerto Ricans who are not extremists in either direction desire for their own people the largest opportunity within the framework of their own local government as an integral and recognized part of the United States. Uncertainty of status explains most of the unrest; and undue favoritism to continentals the rest. There should be more cultured Americans visiting the island, not merely for investigation or for pleasure, but with a definite purpose of cultural sharing and mutual intellectual stimulus. Puerto Ricans have grown tired of those who come to make a survey; they would welcome those who brought a message."

The Socialists are the radical party so far as one exists. They emphasize the interests of labor

as opposed to those of the propertied classes, hold that the social and economic conditions of Puerto Rico are unspeakably bad, and contend that the United States must step forward with substantial measures of relief. Lately there took place an important election which completely upset the accepted status quo of political parties. A liberal group which for several decades had held undisputed control of the Island and its bountiful patronage, suddenly was tossed into the discard by a more powerful alinement of Conservative Republicans and the far more numerous Socialist Laborers. This Republican-Socialist Coalition stormed into the business of government with an enthusiasm bordering on reaction.

The Nationalist party was formed in 1920, and is composed mostly of young men. About two weeks ago, (February 23, 1936) two of them shot and killed the chief of the insular police, Colonel E. Francis Riggs, formerly of the United States Army. They did it openly, in the presence of other police, who arrested them. In the police station they said they acted to avenge the killing of four Nationalists in disorders last October. While being questioned the killers tried to arm themselves from a near-by closet; they were

(2) "Puerto Rico and its Problems," Pages 135-136.

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shot dead. Certain newspapers called for an investigation of the police station killing; Pedro Albizu Campos, aggressive leader of the Nationalists, said: "If you want to make a million Nationalists in Puerto Rico, kill Albizu Campos".

I - The Autonomy Issue. From the issues that have hitherto determined political alignments, it is evident that the question of self-government has been in the foreground in the minds of many Puerto Rican leaders. They assume that the present political constitution of the island is temporary and that a fully autonomous government will be granted eventually. The election of the Governor is the principal step in this direction demanded at the present time. The election of the Governor would almost eliminate American influence and would be very little different so far as control of local affairs is concerned from independence....To appoint Governors from the island itself for a period before resorting to the system of election could establish precedents that would stabilize the office and help it better to withstand political strains after it becomes the first prize of local politics. (1)

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems," Pages 103-106.

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(1) "Puerto Rico and Its Problems," Pages 103-106.

Since writing the above, "The New York Times" of March 1, 1936, published the following article:

"The politically conscious among Puerto Rico's 1,500,000 American citizens are tugged between two warring schools. One, represented by a majority of the island Legislature, wants elevation from a dependency to a State of the United States. The minority demands independence. Most militant among the independence advocates are the Nationalists--mostly young men, some of whom carry weapons which they occasionally use....Behind the assassination of Colonel E. Francis Riggs, American head of the insular police force of Puerto Rico, by two young Nationalists lies the problem of this island's future political status.

"Puerto Ricans became American citizens in 1917. But never, since the United States took the island from the Spaniards in 1898, have the people been exactly sure of the form of government that would eventually be theirs. At present the islanders elect their own Legislature but not the heads of the executive departments; the President of the United States appoints the Governor and each of these two men names some of the executive chiefs, subject to confirmation by the Senate at Washington or at San Juan, as the case may be.

"Washington policies toward Puerto Rico have varied with administrations. The uncertainty caused the island Legislature, in 1934, to petition Congress to grant Statehood with a large degree of autonomy. The Coalition Majority, now in power in the island with 205,000 of the 388,000 votes cast in 1932, backs the Statehood proposal. The chief opposition, the Liberals, have a platform declaring for independence, but do not push it strenuously.

"More militant than the Liberals, who polled 166,000 votes in 1932, are the Nationalists, with only about 5,000 votes at the election. The Nationalist party is largely a youth movement, with many of its members barely old enough to vote; the two members who shot Colonel Riggs, and met death themselves a few minutes later, were scarcely of voting age.

"Miguel Guerra Mondragon, former Speaker of the lower house in the Legislature and now a member of the Liberal party, explains the zeal of the Nationalists by citing this Spanish proverb: 'A man who at 18 is not a revolutionist has no heart. A man who at 45 is not a conservative has no head.' He himself is past 45.

"The head of the Nationalist party is in his early forties. He is Pedro Albizu Campos, a graduate of Harvard and Harvard Law School and a compelling speaker. He advises his followers--those old enough to cast ballots--not to go to the polls next November; whichever side wins, he says, will continue the colonial regime of Yanqui domination, and he wants none of it.

"Not only is Albizu president of the independence party; he calls himself President of the Republic of Puerto Rico which, he declares, dates from the revolution at Lares against Spanish rule in the Sixties.

"Thirty-five years ago Albizu, an intelligent boy, ran errands for newly arrived Americans at Ponce. They took an interest in him, arranged his passage to New York, and through friends in the United States obtained assurances that he would have a chance to work his way through school.

"After graduation from Harvard he entered a training camp established at the university by a French World War mission. He was recommended for a commission in the American Army, should one be formed. But when the United States entered the war he was shunted from one office in the War Department to another and, still lacking his commission, returned to Puerto Rico.

"In the island he was forced to await the draft and to undergo a second course of training. Eventually he was assigned as a second lieutenant to the regiment of colored troops in a draft brigade. As soon as the armistice was signed he asked for his discharge.

"The Nationalist party was formed in 1920 and after a few years Albizu joined it. He has been its president since about 1930; five former presidents have left the party, saying almost invariably that they did not favor Albizu's leadership. Some have reached the age of 45.

"The party today is generally admitted to be wholly an Albizu Campos organization. The leader has expelled many from it, some after they said independence should be won through friendship, not hatred."

J - Elections. During the fiscal year 1935 the election law was amended by the Legislature. The amendments have served the sole purpose of doing away with the existing limited suffrage. Universal suffrage for males was in effect until after the election of 1928, and it was restricted to new registrants both male and female when suffrage was extended to women. Under the amended act all persons who have reached the age of twenty-one years and are American citizens may register and vote unless they are disqualified by law. The amendments granting universal suffrage were passed by the unanimous vote of both houses of the Legislature. (1)

(1) "Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Governor of Puerto Rico," 1935, page 75.

IV - GOVERNMENT FINANCES.

The fiscal year 1935 closed with a surplus of \$606,477.70, while the previous year was closed with a small deficit of \$278,983.84. The progress made during the year amounted to \$885,461.54. The cash balance on hand on June 30, 1935, was \$683,679.75. The revenue collections for the year aggregated \$12,642,828.26 and exceeded the Treasurer's original estimate by the sum of \$1,442,828.26, or an increase of \$501,828.26 as compared with the Treasurer's revised estimate for the fiscal year. The collections increased by the sum of \$1,371,764.37 over the previous year. They are the largest ever made since the inauguration of the present civil government of Puerto Rico on May 1, 1900, with the single exception of the fiscal year 1931-32 when collections amounted to \$12,662,359.76.

If we consider that it was during the year 1931-32 that the revenue from the excise tax on gasoline, levied for the first time at the rate of seven cents per gallon, was covered in its entirety into the general fund, while only a part of that revenue has been available during the year 1935, it will be seen that this has been so far the most successful year as regards collection of taxes since the American

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occupation of the island. Truly a success to be recorded with pleasure and satisfaction in view of the fact that Puerto Rico is just beginning to recover from the effects of the depression and the two devastating storms of 1928 and 1932. (1)

V - TAXATION

The island of Puerto Rico does not pay any taxes to the Federal Government and consequently the Federal income tax law is not enforced there. The island has an income tax of its own, which is Act No. 74 of August 6, 1925. This act repealed income tax law No. 43 of July 1, 1921, as amended on January 1, 1924. The present income tax is a slightly modified copy of the Federal income tax law. With the exception of rates and a few other details their fundamental provisions are the same.

Individuals resident on the island for each taxable year pay 2 per cent on the first \$4,000 of their taxable income, and 4 per cent upon the next \$4,000. All other individuals must pay 6% of their taxable income. In addition to this normal tax all individuals must pay a surtax on incomes in excess of \$10,000. Corporations and partnerships must pay for

(1) "Annual Report, Governor of Puerto Rico", 1935, page 26.

each taxable year 12 1/2% of their taxable income. Act No. 18 of June 3, 1927, made certain amendments to the original act to become effective January 1, 1928, important among which is the one which does not allow to foreign corporations and partnerships the credit of \$3,000 which is allowed in the case of domestic corporation or partnership the net income of which does not exceed \$10,000.

The definition of taxable property is involved and in places contradictory. The law states that the property to be assessed for taxation shall include real and personal property; that real and tangible personal property with a fixed location shall be assessed in the municipality where they are located; and that all other personal property, whether in Puerto Rico or elsewhere, shall be assessed where the owner resides. Personal property includes bonds, stocks, patent rights, trade marks, franchises, concessions, and other things capable of private ownership, but does not include book credits, promissory notes nor other personal credits. Among exemptions in another section, however, are indebtedness owed by a taxable person, association or corporation, and the capital stock of corporations, and of joint-stock and limited liability companies if their shares are

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 Puerto Rico or elsewhere, shall be assessed where
 the owner resides. Personal property includes bonds,
 stocks, patent rights, trade marks, franchises, cop-
 yrights, and other things capable of private ownership,
 but does not include book credits, promissory notes
 nor other personal credits. Among exceptions in
 another section, however, are indebtedness owed by a
 taxable person, association or corporation, and the
 capital stock of corporations, and of joint-stock
 and limited liability companies if their shares are

taxed under Section 316. This section relates to the taxation of the real property of corporations and companies and not to the taxation of their shares, but the intention is assumed to be to apply to stock the same exemption as to indebtedness. The net result is to make Puerto Rican real estate and personal property taxable, but to exempt all intangibles except patent rights, trade marks, copyrights, franchises, concessions, bonds and stocks of companies outside of Puerto Rico and government bonds not exempted by Federal or other Insular law.

A - Property Taxes. There are certain property taxes imposed directly on the assessed valuation of all taxable real and personal property, which are paid to the insular government and to the municipalities. In Puerto Rico during the fiscal year 1926-27 these taxes ranged from 1.65% in the municipalities of Guanica and Rincon to 2.35 per cent for the municipality of Ponce and 2.64 per cent for the municipality of San Juan. These rates include, as for instance in the case of Ponce, the following:

Insular.....	0.20%
Municipal.....	0.80%
School.....	0.10%
Roads.....	0.15%

Municipal loans.....	0.60%
Municipal special.....	0.10%
Insular special.....	0.10%
University.....	0.20%
Water-power development....	<u>0.10%</u>
Total.....	\$2.35%

20, 1925, The average rate for the whole island during this year was 2.13%.

B. Inheritance Tax. In accordance with Act No. 99 of August 29, 1925, property subject to the payment of inheritance tax comprises all real property within Puerto Rico and any interest therein, whether belonging to inhabitants of Puerto Rico or not, and all personal property belonging to inhabitants of Puerto Rico passing by will, intestacy, inheritance, or by any grant intended to take effect in possession or enjoyment after the death of the grantor, to any person, association, institution, or corporation, in trust or otherwise. Act No. 3 of May 7, 1927, amends Act No. 99 of August 29, 1925, to the effect that personal property in Puerto Rico owned by non-residents is subject to the payment of the inheritance tax. No tax is imposed when the value of the property so passing does not exceed the sum of \$1,000 and the party taking is a wife, child, grandchild, or

Municipal loans.....0.60¢
 Municipal special.....0.10¢
 Insular special.....0.10¢
 University.....0.30¢
 Water-power development.....0.10¢

Total.....\$2.35¢

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person legally recognized as the adopted child of the decedent.

C - Excise Taxes. Act No. 85 of August 20, 1925, entitled "An act to provide revenues for the people of Puerto Rico by levying certain sale taxes and taxes for the manufacture, use, sale and consumption of certain products and license taxes on certain occupations, industries, or businesses; to impose certain penalties; to repeal the laws in force providing for excise and license taxes, and for other purposes", as amended by Act No. 17 of June 3, 1927, imposes certain excise taxes on alcohol, brandy, whisky, beer, champagne, sparkling wines, still wines, cider, cigar, cigarettes, tobacco, playing cards, ~~arms~~ and ammunition, matches, motor vehicles, phonographs, organs, radio, pianos and accessories, films, cameras, billiard tables, affidavits, horse races, purses won at horse races, admission to public spectacles, bicycles, parts and accesories, musical instruments, mats, carpets and linoleums, lighting apparatus, typewriters, cash registers, calculating machines, etc. This act also imposes on all other articles of commerce a sales tax of 2%.

D - Trade-Marks. Puerto Rico has a trade-mark law of its own, the status of which is similar to that of the trade-mark law of any State of the Union. This law, which is Act No. 66 of July 28, 1923, affords protection against infringements of trade-marks occurring wholly within the territory of the island, and to that end registration of trade-marks under its provisions become necessary.

E - Patents. Puerto Rico has no patent law of its own, but the provisions of the United States patent law are extensive to the island and protection there is secured by the filing in the office of the executive secretary of Puerto Rico certified copies of the patents which may be granted under the law of the United States. This protection will continue during the life of the patents in the United States.

F - Copyrights. Puerto Rico has no copyright law of its own, but a copyright granted under the law of the United States receives protection in the island. Certified copies of registration of copyrights in the United States should be filed in

(1) "Trading under the Laws of Porto Rico", pp. 42-43.

(2) See footnote, page 10.

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the office of the executive secretary of Puerto Rico. (1)

G - Division of Revenue between Insular and Municipal Governments. Out of a total public revenue in 1927-28 of \$23,712,000, the Insular Government received \$16,629,000, or 70%, and the 77 municipalities received \$7,083,000, or 30%. Of the total taxes, amounting to \$17,922,000, the Insular share was \$12,415,000, or 69%, or \$8.60 per capita, while the municipal share was 31%, or \$3.80 per capita. These figures are remarkable as compared with similar figures for the continental United States in that they show local government revenue in Puerto Rico to be an unusually low percentage of total government revenue. In order not to be misleading, however, it is necessary to consider separately the support of common schools. In Puerto Rico 77 per cent of the total school expenditure is paid from Insular funds, while our state governments pay only about 14%.

1. Rural and urban revenue. Puerto Rican municipalities (2) resemble New England towns in

(1) "Trading under the Laws of Porto Rico", pp.42-43.

(2) See footnote, page 10.

embracing all the territory of the island, urban and rural alike. San Juan is the only municipality that is wholly urban.

The third regular session of the Thirteenth Legislature H - Municipal finances. According to the Governor's report for the year 1935, "there are too many municipalities in Puerto Rico and their government is unnecessarily complicated, cumbersome and expensive. This accounts for practically all of their financial troubles. The only solution of these difficulties is the reorganization of the present municipal government system, reducing the number of municipalities and giving them a very simple and inexpensive form of government which, while adequate to their needs, will do away with a large percentage of the present needless expense. The estimated receipts of these 77 municipalities, in accordance with their approved budgets for the fiscal year 1934-35, amounted to \$5,937,999.57, which is a decrease of \$38,968.29 as compared with the preceding year. The estimated expenditures amount to \$5,937,899.57 which shows that all the municipalities planned to expend the whole of their resources, leaving nothing for the creation of reserves to be used in case of

(1) "Annual Report, Governor of P. R., 1935", page 31.

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unexpected or unforeseen needs and contingencies.(1)

VI - LEGISLATION

The third regular session of the Thirteenth Legislature convened on February 11, 1935, and adjourned sine die on April 14, one day before the day set by the Organic Act for its closing. One hundred and two bills and 99 resolutions were passed, of which the Governor approved 47 bills and 37 joint resolutions.

The more important laws of this session are as follows:

1. Act No. 11, authorizing the Board of Medical Examiners to admit to examination graduates of accredited European medical schools with requisites as high as those of similar schools in the continental United States;
2. Act No. 25, amending the insurance law so as to authorize foreign insurance companies to operate in Puerto Rico upon depositing \$25,000 for the protection of policy holders.
3. Act No. 44, amending the Civil Code of Puerto Rico so as to allow the spouse deprived of the "patria potestas" to recover it by judicial decree in certain cases;
4. Act No. 45, enacting a new Workmen's Accident Compensation Law based upon the exclusive state fund plan. Although the new activity is placed within the Department of Finance, the entire administration is placed in the hands of a manager who is appointed by and reports directly to the Governor.

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4. Act No. 45, enacting a new Workmen's Accident Compensation Law based upon the exclusive state fund plan. Although the new activity is placed within the Department of Finance, the entire administration is placed in the hands of a manager who is appointed by and reports directly to the Governor.

The intervention of the Superintendent of Insurance is discontinued and the Industrial Commission is changed into a semi-judicial body without administrative jurisdiction but with authority to review, upon the appeal of the interested party, any decision or finding made by the manager. Appeals to the courts, except to the Supreme Court on questions of law, are prohibited.

5. Act No. 4 amending the election and registration law so as to grant universal suffrage by extending the right to vote to persons who cannot read or write.

VII - RELIGION

As in all Spanish countries, the official religion of Puerto Rico was the Roman Catholic, supported by taxation. Ecclesiastical affairs were administered by a bishop attached to the archbishopric of Santiago de Cuba. This dignitary has the credit of holding the most ancient bishopric in America, the earliest incumbent of the office being appointed at the first settlement by Pope Julius II. The island was divided into many vicarages and every minor district had its curate. The intolerance shown in Cuba, however, was not quite so fully manifested in Puerto Rico, since there was, since early times, at least one protestant church in the island.

The Protestant movement in Puerto Rico "includes 276 organized churches with 24,000 members,

559 Sunday schools enrolling 45,000 pupils, 126 young people's societies, 114 other church societies, 22 schools including kindergarten and graded schools, 2 high schools, one college and one theological seminary, three hospitals with about 200 beds and caring for 70,000 patients yearly in the wards and clinics. The churches employ 187 ordained ministers and 64 lay preachers with about as many more teachers, physicians, nurses, etc." (1) There are two Catholic bishopries in Puerto Rico: San Juan and Ponce. The oldest church in the island is said to be that of San German. In connection with the Catholic religion, it is interesting to note that there is an exemption from the use of fish on Fridays applicable to natives of Puerto Rico. Whether this exemption is also applicable to North Americans living in the island, I have not been able to ascertain.

VIII - EDUCATION

Illiteracy in Puerto Rico has been reduced by perhaps one-half since the time of the American occupation. One-tenth or more of the people have sufficient knowledge of English for ordinary practical use.

(1) "The Christian Century", February 7, 1934, page 201.

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 use.

When Spain relinquished control of Puerto Rico in 1898, 380 public schools for boys and 138 public schools for girls with a total enrollment of somewhat less than 45,000 pupils were reported in the island. Not a single public school building was in existence and classes were usually held in the residence of the teacher. Fees were charged except for the poorer children who received only a minimum of instruction. Today the enrollment is almost 221,000 of whom well toward 7,000 are taking high school courses. Puerto Rico also supports a university with a normal college and a separate school of agriculture and engineering. One thousand and thirty-five school buildings have been erected and 1,109 are rented. These provide nearly 4,500 classrooms. The total expenditures for primary and secondary education have risen from less than \$186,000 to \$5,834,468 in 1928. The proportion of children between 5 and 20 years of age attending school rose from 30% in 1910 to 39% in 1920, and 42% in 1928. (1)

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schools:

(1) "Puerto Rico and its Problems," pages 72-73.

Elementary rural schools.....	1,494
Elementary urban schools.....	259
Second unit rural schools.....	43
High schools.....	<u>23</u>
Total.....	1,819

Comparing these figures with last year's, there has been an increase of 20 schools, all of them in the rural zone. The 23 high schools (excluding the University High School) enrolled 8,587 pupils, which represent an increase of 821 over last year. There were 385 teaching positions. This year the enrollments have reached the highest figure on record in the history of Puerto Rico's school system. This is due undoubtedly to the help received from the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration. The yearly enrollments of pupils since 1930 are as follows:

1930.....	221,248
1931.....	226,215
1932.....	229,169
1933.....	233,457
1934.....	239,495
1935.....	246,414

Vocational education has been developing steadily in Puerto Rico. It deals primarily with organized instruction in home economics, agriculture and trades and industries. Vocational education

in agriculture trains the students for the occupation of farming and aims to improve those farmers already engaged in this occupation through practical demonstrations and evening classes. Industrial education aims at giving the individual the adequate training that will prepare him to earn a living in a trade or industrial pursuit in the shortest time. This work has not been as extensive as desired, due to the lack of funds for the purchase of equipment and the building of suitable plants.

Important achievements of the educational year are the following:

1. Curriculum reconstruction, formal introduction of elementary science into the curriculum of elementary urban and rural schools;
2. Teaching of ceramics in rural schools and the creation of educational division of the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration to serve as a link between the Department of Education and the former, by coordinating all the educational activities of the Relief Administration with the organization of the Department.
3. The adoption of definite plans for a program of radio education;
4. The making of a beginning in visual education; and
5. The conducting of an extension course on health education.

The outstanding event of the school year 1934-35 was the reform in the language of instruction of the elementary schools. Heretofore and for years past, all the subjects were taught in the four lower grades of the elementary schools in Spanish, except English which, of course, was taught in English. In grades six, seven and eight, all the subjects were taught in English, except Spanish, which was taught in Spanish. Grade five was the year of transition. In that grade some subjects were taught in Spanish and others in English. The change introduced at the beginning of the present school year made Spanish the teaching language in all the grades of the elementary schools and left English as a special subject, taught in English in every grade by the teacher best qualified to teach it. (1)

IX - AGRICULTURE

Puerto Rico is mainly an agricultural community, and, naturally, the government keeps at all times the interest of the farmer uppermost in its mind.

(1) "Report, Governor of P. R., 1935", pages 53-56.

The general agricultural situation has shown a slight improvement in relation to certain crops, but this improvement cannot be regarded in the sense of an optimistic outlook for the island's agriculture in the immediate future.

Originally the crops were more or less diversified, but in the latter years many changes have come. Coffee used to be an important article of export and was largely cultivated in the hilly districts. At no time, however, was Puerto Rico able to compete in production costs with the great coffee growing countries of South America. Here, therefore, coffee had to be of such grade and flavor as to command a much higher price. Since the collapse of the coffee market the cultivation of this crop has greatly diminished.

Another crop on which the island depends is tobacco. This also has suffered for a variety of reasons. To begin with, the general economic crisis has destroyed the price. In addition, Puerto Rican tobacco was used for cigars, but the world at large, and particularly the United States, has been turning from cigars to cigarettes. The

(1) "Puerto Rico, our link with Latin America",
 "Foreign Affairs," January, 1934, page 271.

coastal plain which contains by far the richest land is largely in sugar, and, for time immemorial plantations there have been in the hands of a comparatively few individuals. The advent of the big sugar companies has tended to accentuate this. The average Puerto Rican is, therefore, a landless man either working as a laborer on a plantation, farming on shares, or living in one of the cities.

The farming problem is subject to another great risk. At periodical intervals the island is swept by violent hurricanes. These are bad enough when they merely destroy the crop, as in the case of sugar, but with citrus fruits and coffee, they often destroy the trees, which means that the damage cannot be repaired except by an entirely new planting and after a long period of growth. In recent years these disasters have been unusually common.(1) The hurricane of September 13-14, 1928, killed 245 people, injured 3329, destroyed 36,249 buildings, damaged 30,046; 18,956 families were left without shelter, 31539 families had to be provided with clothing and 41,516 with food. The property loss exceeded \$30,000,000. The total

(1) "Puerto Rico, our link with Latin America",
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crop loss was \$20,437,000 of which the damage to sugar cane was \$11,553,000. Congress appropriated \$6,100,000 for immediate relief in December 1928 and \$1,000,000 more in June 1930. The American Red Cross expended \$3,188,303 in relief work. The hurricane of September 26-27, 1932 laid waste about half the island and 49 of the 77 municipalities were seriously affected. The total estimated damage reached \$35,568,345; 257 persons were killed, 3,280 injured and 76,925 families were in actual distress. The Hurricane Relief Commission spent an aggregate of \$10,002,582 up to June 30, 1933, relieving the sufferers from both hurricanes. The coffee crop which had averaged 42,000,000 pounds annually was but 7,331,877 pounds from 191,712 acres in 1929, owing to the destruction of the trees. Sugar is the island's principal crop. By scientific experimentation and breeding, canes have been developed which yield a sucrose content 15% higher than those used a short period ago. These species have immunity to the common diseases. Irrigation systems have been evolved having in view not merely the growth of the plant, but also the

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health of the cultivators, for irrigation too often means a great increase in malaria.

Puerto Rican agriculture is subject to severe competition from neighboring countries. The island is set down in the midst of a sea that is studded with islands more favored than itself in respect to soil resources and that is bordered along the eastern coast of Central America and the northern coast of South America by one of the most extensive tracts of still largely undeveloped tropical agricultural land in the world. Puerto Rican agriculture is subject to intense competitive pressure from Cuba in the matter of sugar and to a lesser extent tobacco; from Brazil, Colombia, and Central America as to coffee (1) and from Florida and the United Fruit Company plantations along the western Caribbean as to tropical and semitropical fruits. The fact that Puerto Rico is an old and, in a sense, a used-up country, located in the immediate neighborhood of countries with virgin or comparatively fresh resources, is a primary factor in its agricultural situation.

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A - The Sugar Industry. Sugar plantations, which employ relatively more skilled hands at higher rates of pay than any other branch of agriculture, have extended to approximately the limit set by the land available for cane growing.

The first mill was erected in 1548 and by 1581 eleven mills were in operation with an aggregate output of 187 tons of sugar annually. The methods of cultivation and manufacture were, however, very crude and until the American invasion little changes had been made in this and other industries. Today the huge steam and electrically-driven centrales contain the latest and most highly perfected automotive machinery. The best possible varieties of cane are grown, trained scientists and chemists are employed, and the cane and sugar are shipped and transported in railway, trains, auto trucks and trams. (1)

A previously stated, cane is Puerto Rico's leading crop and chief source of wealth. Of her total exports, which were valued at over \$108,000,000 in 1928, well toward \$56,000,000 were accounted for

(1) Hyatt Verrill "Porto Rico Past and Present," p.120.

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by three cane products: sugar, molasses and alcohol. More than two-fifths of the island's cultivated area and more than 11 per cent of its total area is under cane. Sugar manufacturers and cane cultivators pay directly nearly one-fourth of the insular and local taxes and support many accessory lines of business which contribute to the coffers of the government. In a word, the economic fortunes of Puerto Rico are at present largely dependent upon this industry.

Under the Spanish regime, the policy which governed in Puerto Rico already was "to put all its energy into the production of sugar, coffee, tobacco and cattle and import most of its food supply". When the United States occupied the island, coffee was the principal crop and the highest assessed valuations were in the coffee country. The manufacture of sugar had been depressed for several years. Indeed, many estates were completely idle and cane fields had been allowed to revert to pasture.

Naturally, Puerto Rico's inclusion within the American tariff area had a pronounced effect upon the relative profitableness of her staple

industries. Cane and tobacco cultivation benefitted remarkably, while coffee growing received no protection, but instead was burdened with higher production costs than hitherto. Since coffee is grown in the mountainous interior, however, and for the most part on land unsuitable for cane or tobacco, the expansion of the latter crops did not, to any considerable extent, occasion an invasion of the territory of the former. Coffee growing survived, although in the position of a poor relation, and today the lowest assessments and land values are in the coffee region, while the highest are in the sugar country. Cane growing extended, in fact, chiefly at the expense of grazing which then occupied a large part of the coastal region. Thirty years ago, what are today wide expanses of cane were great stretches of green pasture where, during the rainy season, cattle stood shoulder high in the rank forage. Between 1897 and 1907 the area in cane increased from 61,558 cuerdas (acres) to 174,196 cuerdas, while the area in pasture decreased from 1,143,364 cuerdas to 856,764 cuerdas.

Sugar production, under modern methods, increased from 35,000 tons in 1899 to an average

of 361,974 short tons in 1909-10 to 1913-14, and of 499,751 short tons in 1921-25 to 1925-26. Production in 1927-28 was 748,677 tons. In 1928-29, 586,751 tons; in 1929-30, 866,109 tons, in 1930-31, 783,163; in 1931-32, 987,674; in 1932-33, 834,308, and in 1933-34, 981,120.

In favorable years, Puerto Rico produces somewhat over one pound in eight of the sugar consumed in the United States. Already, however, the beet sugar crop of the mainland exceeds by a large margin that of any of our insular possessions, although the latter in the aggregate supply nearly double our maximum beet production. Puerto Rico's output is less than that of Hawaii, which has twice her area, but exceeds that of the Philippines, which promise eventually to rival Cuba, at present the greatest sugar producer in the world. (1)

X - MANUFACTURES

During the last ten years Puerto Rico has had a considerable manufacturing development along certain lines. This industrial advance has apparently been promoted somewhat by the American

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems," pages 611-612.

immigration laws, which have caused certain industries which formerly relied upon imported cheap labor from Europe and Asia to pay increasing attention to the cheap labor market afforded by Puerto Rico. The most notable expansion has been in the garment making trades. This industry is dealt with more fully under the heading of "Homework in the Needle Trade".

There has also been a significant development in connection with tobacco manufactures. The value of the cigars and cigarettes manufactured in the last three years is considerably below that of earlier years, owing in part to the growing discrimination against dark-wrapper cigars produced entirely from Puerto Rican tobacco. The stemming of leaf tobacco, on the other hand, has shown a great increase. Unimportant prior to 1925, it has in recent years reached very substantial totals. It should be pointed out in this connection that leaf tobacco is brought in from Cuba and is re-exported after being stemmed. This is due partly because of tariff advantages, but largely because of low island wages.

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immigration laws, which have caused certain industries which formerly relied upon imported cheap labor from Europe and Asia to pay increasing attention to the cheap labor market afforded by Puerto Rico. The most notable expansion has been in the garment making trades. This industry is dealt with more fully under the heading of "Homework in the Needle Trade".

There has also been a significant development in connection with tobacco manufactures. The value of the cigars and cigarettes manufactured in the last three years is considerably below that of earlier years, owing in part to the growing discrimination against dark-wrapper cigars produced entirely from Puerto Rican tobacco. The stemming of leaf tobacco, on the other hand, has shown a great increase. Unimportant prior to 1923, it has in recent years reached very substantial totals. It should be pointed out in this connection that leaf tobacco is brought in from Cuba and is re-exported after being stemmed. This is due partly because of tariff advantages, but largely because of low island wages.

exported Cotton garment manufacturing and allied industries have shown a remarkable development. In 1920 the value of all exports of products of this class, even with the high prices then prevailing, was only \$107,000. For the year ending June 30, 1929, it was \$15,133,000. Cotton handkerchief exports have increased since 1924 from about \$313,000 to over \$1,000,000 while cotton wearing apparel has increased from about \$7,000,000 to over \$13,000,000. If we compare the figures for the first nine months of 1928 with those for the first nine months of 1929, we find an even more striking development. The value of cotton manufactures exported during the former period was \$6,703,251, while during the first three quarters of 1929 the value reached \$11,952,298.

for the The manufacture of alcohol, bay oil and bay rum has shown a substantial increase, which may account in part for the failure of molasses to show expansion. Incidentally, the alcohol is all produced by one distillery.

labor cost The great bulk of these manufactured goods is sent to the mainland of the United States. Some men's clothing and furnishings are, however, also

exported to Santo Domingo, Colombia, Venezuela, and possibly other places for which the Canal Zone is a distributing point. The latter exports, which consist mainly of shirts and men's tropical suits, have risen from less than \$27,000 in 1927 to \$271,000 in 1928. (1)

A - Industrial Possibilities. If Puerto Rico's agricultural resources are not sufficient to employ its entire population and if the latter cannot work in substantial numbers in outside labor markets, only one choice remains: to develop local industries, particularly those using imported materials. The benefit of such development is not limited wholly to giving employment to Puerto Rican workers; it tends to equalize the trade balance; it furnishes a field for the utilization of Puerto Rican capital and managerial ability; and it may be a means of stimulating savings among the people of the island.

The determining factors in the industrial development are: raw materials, power resources, labor costs, and markets. Puerto Rico has no mineral

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems," pages 454-457.

or forest resources upon which to base important industries, but the prospect of Puerto Rico becoming an important seat of manufacture broadens when we consider that the island is favorably situated to receive such materials in abundance from abroad; not only are those of the North American mainland available duty free, but those of the neighboring islands and the South American continent are easily accessible.

As far as power is concerned, while there is no local fuel supply, both coal and oil can be brought by sea. The Venezuelan oil fields are very accessible. In the long-range forecasts, however, the possibility that oil will ultimately prove too valuable for other purposes to be used for steam generation must be considered. A potential hydroelectric development of about 60,000 horsepower is thought to be commercially practicable in Puerto Rico. Rainfall and stream volumes fluctuate so widely between the dry season and the wet season, as seven to one in some instances, that expensive storage reservoirs are required, and steam-generated current must be used to supplement hydroelectric

current for a portion of the year. Consequently, the cost of steam generation eventually determines

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generation must be considered. A potential hydroelectric development of about 80,000 horsepower is thought to be commercially practicable in Puerto Rico. Rainfall and stream volumes fluctuate so widely between the dry season and the wet season, as even to one in some instances, that expensive storage reservoirs are required, and steam-generated current must be used to supplement hydroelectric current for a portion of the year. Consequently, the cost of steam generation eventually determines

the cost of power to the manufacturer. On the other hand, the cost of hydroelectric current is cheapened at present by the fact that it is produced as a by-product of works constructed primarily for irrigation.

Power-using manufacturers must count with two groups of competing buyers, municipal and domestic consumers who pay the highest rates, and for that reason are preferred customers, and the sugar and shipping industries. The greater part of the current consumed for power purposes in Puerto Rico is used to run pumps for irrigation and drainage, and for tanking fuel oil and molasses.

Puerto Rico possesses a superabundance of low-cost labor (1) and with the great protected market in the continental United States, the possibilities for industrial expansion appear to be promising, and all patriotic Puerto Ricans are eager that their island, through industrialization and highly organized production, should advance rapidly along the only path of material progress possible in the modern world.

(1) "Puerto Rico labor is dangerous unless intelligently managed. The Conciliation Commission hastened to the scene of strikes and began settlement the day cane-strikes were declared. Even then, many bridges had been burned. Sudden flare-ups due to wounded dignity are much more common, and disastrous, than here. On the other hand, there is not so much resentment at slow 'chiseling'." M.H. Donaldson's "Notes".

XI - TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

"The Spaniards early recognized the value of good roads and when the island came into the possession of the United States there were already nearly 200 miles of splendid highways on the island, the principal one being the famous Military Road from San Juan to Ponce. Since the American occupation, numerous additional macadam roads have been constructed until at the present time there are over 800 miles of beautiful graded, smooth surfaced roads suitable for automobile traffic. These splendid highways connect all the principal towns and cities and form a network of arteries of travel which is unequalled in any other West Indian island and is excelled by few places in the world. The original and principal means of travel in Puerto Rico was formerly by means of horse-drawn vehicles, mule trains, riding horses and the great lumbering creaking bull carts. Today nearly all the passenger and a great proportion of the freight transportation is carried on in automobiles, auto trucks and railroad trains.

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climb the mountains and look back upon the white ribbon of roads winding in sinuous curves and loops skirting the edges of precipices and crossing deep ravines on picturesque bridges, we are filled with wonder and admiration for the skill and labor that produced such marvels of engineering." (1)

A - Railways. All the railways in Puerto Rico are private enterprises. Topographical and economic considerations have combined to prevent building lines across the island or penetrating the interior. The principal system, that of the American Railroad Company, has a mileage of 408 kilometers and extends around the coast, via the western end of the island, from San Juan to Guayama, about 180 miles. Two smaller lines, likewise operating under a public franchise, serve principally sugar plantations in the eastern end of the island. Plantation railways and a few short private lines connect with the main system.

Although passenger business has recently increased and more than half a million travelers

(1) Hyatt Verrill "Porto Rico Past and Present", pages 23, 163.

patronized the American Railroad Company during the last year for which there are available reports, these lines owe their survival in the face of truck and automobile competition to the sugar industry, which furnishes more than 86 per cent of their freight. They are owned largely by sugar growers, but their rates are fixed by the Insular Public Service Commission. There are electric cars in some of the most important cities. The residents of the larger cities and town are favored with complete telephone systems and there is telegraphic communication throughout the island. The mail and post office service is controlled by the Post Office Department of the United States.

XII - TRADE AND COMMERCE

Since the beginning of the American occupation, Puerto Rico's external trade has undergone significant changes in character and direction as well as in volume. There has also developed a considerable range of service and financial transactions between the island and other countries, notably with continental United States. Particularly significant in affecting the trade of Puerto Rico has been the entrance of American capital and the attending transformation of the economy of the island.

A - Significant changes in external trade, 1898-1928. Exports have exceeded imports almost continuously since 1903, there having been only three years since 1902 when imports exceeded exports. The most striking case of export deficiency is found in 1929, when the import excess was over 16 million dollars. Imports did not vary greatly from the normal, but exports were greatly reduced as a result of the hurricane destruction. Puerto Rican external trade has grown much more rapidly than population. The rapid expansion of external trade in proportion to population is shown by the per capita figures. Exports have risen from less than \$12 per capita in 1901 to around \$68 during the years 1927 and 1928, while imports have risen from less than \$20 to more than \$65 per capita. This growth of foreign trade in proportion to population is the result of the transforming a more largely self-sufficient island economy into one which is integrally related with the commerce of the rest of the world, particularly of the United States.

The growth of the export trade in leaf and scrap tobacco has increased enormously. Coffee, on the other hand, has shown a substantial decline.

The tonnage figures show total exports in 1928 actually smaller than in 1901, and equal to only about 15% of the total of 1914. Fruits, consisting of pineapples, grapefruit, oranges and cocoanuts, showed a considerable increase between 1901 and 1914. In the manufactured group, textiles show a striking increase, now ranking third among Puerto Rican exports. Cigars showed an increase during the war period, but have since declined. Foodstuff constitute approximately one-third of Puerto Rico's import trade. Imports of household goods, building materials, machinery, wearing apparel, etc., have remained fairly constant in relation to the total. The class showing the greatest increase is motors, railways, other vehicles, etc., which has risen to fourth place. About 90% of Puerto Rico's external trade is now conducted with the United States.

In the case of both exports and imports, the relative importance of trade with the United States has greatly increased since 1900. The percentage of imports coming from the United States was, however, at a peak during the war years when imports from Europe were restricted. For the years fairly stable level. Among other European countries

1893-96 Puerto Rico's commerce with the United States made up only about 20% of the total; for the five year period 1901-05 it averaged 78%, whereas beginning with 1906, trade with the United States has ranged from 85 to 92% of the total.

The West Indies constitute the next most important export market of Puerto Rico, accounting in 1928 for 5.2% of the total. In this year \$1,220,000 went to the Virgin Islands. The trade with Cuba has been declining, that with the Dominican Republic and other West Indian islands increasing. The export trade to Spain has held up reasonably well in terms of values since 1900, and is much larger than that of any other European country. In proportion to total exports, however, it has steadily declined. Venezuela is the only South American country that takes any appreciable quantity of Puerto Rican goods.

Among the countries from which Puerto Rico imports, the West Indies are again the most important after the United States. Imports from all of these neighboring countries have grown steadily, and, in 1928, accounted for 5.7 per cent of the total. Imports from Spain, like exports to Spain, have remained at a fairly stable level. Among other European countries

it is worthy of note that the United Kingdom has shown the most important expansion of exports to Puerto Rico. South American countries again are unimportant.

The inclusion of Puerto Rico within the American customs area has greatly stimulated trade with the United States. The omission of duties on Puerto Rican exports to the United States enormously stimulated the shipment of Puerto Rican products to the mainland, since it gave to Puerto Rican producers an advantage over outside competitors. The United States tariff has also tended to increase Puerto Rican imports from the United States. By virtue of the fact that Puerto Rico has become a part of the customs system of the United States, it has to maintain the same duties upon imports from foreign countries as does the rest of the United States. The result is to eliminate foreign countries as a potential source of supply for many types of products, and at the same time to increase their cost to Puerto Rico.

This situation has given rise to no little complaint on the part of the Puerto Rican people. It is contended that they must buy the great bulk

of their imports in the United States protected markets, where wages and costs are high, and that they are denied the opportunity of importing their goods from markets where costs of production are lowest.

American coastwise shipping laws are a handicap to Puerto Rican trade. These laws require that all goods moving between Puerto Rican ports, and between island ports and the United States, must be carried in American ships. The purpose of the shipping laws is, of course, to stimulate the building up of the American Merchant Marine. Since Puerto Rico has no merchant marine except a few small vessels engaged in local traffic, all of Puerto Rico's trade with the United States, which represents 90% of its total external trade, is now carried in American ships. The economic significance of this development is that Puerto Rican imports and exports alike carry somewhat higher shipping rates than would be the case were Puerto Ricans traders free to utilize the cheaper carriers of other countries.

The handicap to Puerto Rican trade manifests itself in three distinct ways. In the first place, it increases the cost of Puerto Rican imports by the

extent to which the rates charged by American ships are higher than those charged by other ships. The concrete significance of this may be illustrated by the fact that Cuba, which, of course, is not subject to American shipping laws, can bring rice all the way across the Pacific at a cost of only one-tenth of a cent a pound more than the cost of bringing it from Louisiana.

In the second place, the requirement that American ships shall be used tends to offset somewhat the advantage which the tariff gives to Puerto Rico in selling in American markets.

In the third place, if Puerto Rico were free to use foreign shipping whenever it found an advantage in so doing, it is quite probable that it would be able to build up a larger trade with foreign countries than it now has. If a foreign ship bringing goods to the island, for example, could then pick up a cargo for American as well as foreign ports, it is not improbable that more foreign ships would call at Puerto Rican ports. This would open the way for the island to buy many of its imports in foreign markets instead of having these same goods shipped to it as "reexports" from the United States. It would

(2) "Puerto Rico and its Problems", pages 400-412; "Governor's Report, 1935", pages 23-25.

thus profit not only by the lower rate on foreign shipping but also by a saving of handling charges on the mainland. (1)

Table I shows the position of Puerto Rico in the trade of the United States with Latin American for the year 1934, and Table II Puerto Rico's place in the exterior trade of the United States, for the same year. (Pages 221 and 222).

B - Codes and Laws. In conclusion, something may be said about the Code of Commerce in force in Puerto Rico.

There are at the present time in force in Puerto Rico the following basic codes of laws:

1. Civil Code;
2. Code of Civil Procedure;
3. Penal Code;
4. Code of Criminal Procedure;
5. Code of Commerce; and
6. Political Code.

"The great mass of private substantive law may be found embodied in the Civil Code and the Code of Commerce as amended by subsequent legislation. Both of these codes are of Spanish origin and as such their provisions envelop the fundamental principles of the civil law. The Civil Code is divided into four books,

(1) "Porto Rico and its Problems", pages 400-412;
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(1) "Puerto Rico and its Problems", pages 400-412;
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which, respectively, deal with persons, property ownership and its modifications, different ways of acquiring ownership, and obligations and contracts. The Code of Commerce rules over all commercial transactions. Its provisions relating to bankruptcy are rendered obsolete by the application of the Federal bankruptcy act to the island, and certain of its portions dealing with corporations have been superseded by subsequent laws enacted by the Legislature of Puerto Rico." (1) and relatively progressive labor policies. The idea

XIII - LABOR CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO

Not long ago I had the opportunity of talking with a writer who is profoundly interested in Latin American affairs. In the course of our conversation, we brought up the question of economic conditions in Puerto Rico, and the acute problem of overpopulation. As I said that eventually the island must turn to manufacturing to find the solution, I was asked why did it not turn to an emigration outlet towards the South American countries. To this I replied that I did not believe it feasible. Immigration, even under more normal circumstances than now prevail, is most difficult for the average Puerto Rican, who hates to review the labor movement in the island.

(1) "Trading Under the Laws of Porto Rico", page 5.

(2) "Porto Rico and Its Problems," page 30.

to leave his country. In order to turn his attention towards the other Latin American countries as a place in which to make his living, an extensive and intensive educational campaign would be necessary, which would not bring immediate results, anyway. "The working classes in Puerto Rico certainly look forward to a North American rather than to a European or a Latin American future, because for them the mainland represents high wages and other economic opportunities and relatively progressive labor policies. The ties of organized labor are entirely with the States." (1) The Puerto Rican, I believe, has a higher standard of living than workers in most of the other Latin American countries, and they certainly would hesitate to lower their standard of living in going to those countries. They do go to New York, firstly, because of the relatively easy transportation facilities, and, secondly, because there they can find a colony of Puerto Ricans, where they can live almost under the same conditions as in Puerto Rico.

A - Labor Movement in Puerto Rico. Before going into the labor conditions in Puerto Rico, it may be well to review the labor movement in the island,

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems," page 50.

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and, to this effect, I quote at length from "Porto Rico and Its Problems", by the Brookings Institution, a book published in 1930.

"Social betterment had its advocates among intelligent Islanders before the American occupation and a few societies of working people or gremios, including employers, employees and independent handicraftsmen, had been formed among members of the various crafts in some of the larger towns. But if we except one or two strikes among cigar makers, no record exists of an aggressive labor movement or of organized effort to improve the condition of the masses by their own action or by special legislation. In fact, until 1902, four years after the American occupation, when the courts finally decided that Porto Rican workers enjoyed the same right to form associations, in order to protect and promote their interests, that were enjoyed by their fellows on the mainland, the Spanish Conspiracy Laws remained a menace to independent labor action. Local statutes followed that decision, expressly granting working people the right to form unions and making it unlawful to compel a workman to enter into an agreement not to join a union as a condition of employment. By March, 1905, there were 123 unions in the Island, all of which were members of a local federation, which in turn was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The latest available figures (1930) credit the Federation with 236 organizations and about 35,000 members.

During the last quarter of a century, the movement has gathered strength in the political field, where labor organizations form the background of the powerful Socialist party. But the unions have not been able to surmount the handicaps of an overcrowded labor market and the poverty of their members so as to win signal victories by direct action. Wages have risen in the organized trades, but probably not much faster than in unorganized

occupations. The working day has been shortened by agreement or, in case of public contracts, by legislation. When the cost of living mounted rapidly during the War, an agitation accompanied by strikes among plantation laborers, succeeded in forcing up wages to meet this new condition; but it proved impossible to maintain them at the higher level when prices receded after the boom. These plantation strikes were accompanied in some instances by intimidation, murder, cane fires, and other forms of lawlessness and violence, not infrequently associated with such waves of agitation among great bodies of half-organized and ignorant workers.

"In 1914 and 1926 strikes in the principal cigar factories of the Island failed to win their objective, and are said partly to account for the action of the largest of the tobacco corporations in transferring most of its manufacturing from the Island to the mainland. Waves of labor agitation, marked by strikes, rise and subside as if they were the result of a psychic contagion. In most cases, however, they represent impulsive resistance to some worsening of the conditions of the workers and not infrequently accompany one of these general depressions that are liable to affect, from time to time, a relatively small and isolated community whose prosperity is largely dependent upon one or two staple crops. It is not strange, therefore, that they have had little observable effect upon the material condition of the working people. The main accomplishments of the labor movement have been achieved through political action.

"These accomplishments, which many Islanders not affiliated with labor unions have helped to realize, are the formation of the labor or so-called Socialist party, powerful enough to make its influence felt in both legislation and public administration and the enactment of a considerable body of laws for the protection of workers and the promotion of their interests. The Organic Act of 1917 provides for the Department of Agriculture and Labor, which includes a Labor Bureau. Officials of this Bureau inspect workshops and factories, gather wage and price statistics,

and investigate housing conditions and other matters of interest to the laboring population. In performing these functions, the Bureau is hampered by inadequate appropriations, and for this reason the value of its statistical work suffers from lack of continuity and of a consistent program, from insufficient checking of field data, and from too sketchy presentation of results.

"Among the more important labor statutes, which are modeled for the most part upon legislation in the United States, are those regulating the employment of women and children, prescribing the payment of wages in cash, enforcing the collection of wages improperly withheld by employers and providing for safe scaffolds. The Organic Law specifies that eight hours shall constitute a day's work of laborers and mechanics employed upon public works, and forbids the employment of children under 14 years of age in occupations injurious to health or morals or hazardous to life or limb. The administration of these laws as well as of the Insular Immigration Act, is entrusted to the Labor Bureau. Two independent commissions created by special statute, respectively mediate industrial disputes and administer a workmen's compensation law."

B - Industrial Disputes in Puerto Rico,

1933-34. "The Puerto Rican Mediation and Conciliation Commission was more active in the fiscal year 1933-34 than in any previous twelve month period. In that year there were 123 strikes and other industrial controversies involving over 72,000 persons. Among the most important of these disputes were the general strike of longshoremen, the general strike of needle-workers, and the strike of the machine operators of the Puerto Rican American Tobacco Company.

(1) "Wages are higher in Puerto Rico than in Cuba, Domingo or Haiti. For that reason the labor unions balk at 'wage crusades'." W. H. Bonifacio "Notes".

"The greatest number of conflicts occurred in the bread-making industry in which there were 22 strikes and 6 controversies, none of these disputes, however, involving over 100 workers. The greatest number of persons involved in any one of the 123 strikes was 12,000 workers in the men's clothing industry. Two of the strikes in the sugar industry involved, respectively, 9,000 and 9,500 workers. Most of the disputes were of brief duration.

"As an outcome of an agreement entered into in 1933-34 by the Sugar Producers' Association and the Free Federation of Workmen in Puerto Rico, peace prevailed on the sugar plantations during the entire period of the grinding season of that year and a production of 1,100,000 tons of sugar was reported - a figure not reached in any other year in the Puerto Rican sugar industry.

C - Wages in various industries in Puerto Rico, 1933-34. (1) "The average hourly earnings in Puerto Rico in the fiscal year 1934-35 ranged from 1 1/2 cents for girls on coffee plantations to 30

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for male wharf workers. Statistics of wages in various industries are presented in considerable detail in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico. The highest actual weekly earnings in that year in the industries reported are \$10.05 for males in transportation for an average of 48.1 hours actually worked per week. Wage increases of from 20 to 48% in the sugar industry and from 10 to 69% in the tobacco industry were reported for 1933-34 as compared with 1932-33.

D - Homework in the Needle Trades. A study of home work in the Island's needle trades was made in the winter of 1933-34 under the joint auspices of the United States and Puerto Rican Departments of Labor. The results are embodied in Bulletin No. 118 of the United States Women's Bureau entitled 'The Employment of Women in Puerto Rico'. In the course of this survey visits were made to 252 homes and 323 workers were interviewed. Their earnings ran from less than 25 cents to \$4.00 per bundle of work. Approximately one fourth of the women reported that they had finished their last bundle of work in two or three days and a few within a day, while another fourth took 6, 7 or 8 days for the completion

of their respective bundles. The proportion of these 323 workers' earnings specified amounts were as follows:

<u>Earnings per bundle</u>	<u>Percentage of women</u>
Under 25 cents.....	19.2
25 and under 50 cents.....	23.2
50 cents and under \$1.00.....	27.6
\$1.00 and under \$2.00.....	22.0
\$2.00 or more.....	8.0

The estimated earnings per hour on the last bundle of work of these 323 women are reported as follows in the above-mentioned bulletin:

<u>Hourly earnings</u>	<u>Percent of homeworkers</u>
Less than one cent.....	31.4
1 and under 2 cents.....	31.1
2 and under 3 cents.....	21.2
3 and under 4 cents.....	10.2
4 and under 5 cents.....	2.7
5 and under 6 cents.....	2.1
6 and under 7 cents.....	.3
7 and under 8 cents.....	.9

Unfair practices were reported, among them the payment of workers in groceries, delays in furnishing work and the retention of wage increases by the agents." (1)

E - Land Tenure. "At one time Puerto Rico was the home of small landowners. With the advent

(1) "Monthly Labor Review", July, 1935, pages 100, 151-154.

of the great moneyed interests to the island, the small land holdings were absorbed by degrees into the large tobacco and sugar plantations and most of the owners of the many small farms which have gradually disappeared have become seasonal laborers on the big agricultural undertakings.

"Originally Puerto Rico had its crown lands inherited from the Crown of Spain but a great portion of them had been leased to big owners for a considerable period. With the view of developing these crown lands into small farms for the Puerto Ricans, the 1921 Legislature created a Homestead Commission. The members of this Commission include the Commissioners of Health, Agriculture and Labor, and four others appointed by the Governor. The Commission was authorized to develop other areas to be used both as urban settlements for providing adequate and reasonably priced housing for artisans and workers and also for the establishment and development of farm homesteads. The general scheme is to charge anyone taking over homestead property a monthly or tri-monthly payment for 10 years. At the close of such period the homesteader becomes the owner of the property he has lived on and developed. Such land can be neither transferred nor sold except to

another homesteader unless the whole Commission approves. This restriction is to prevent the absorption of homesteads into large land holdings." (1)

To many persons interested in the future progress of Puerto Rico the return of the small farmer to the soil as land-owner is one of the most constructive measures undertaken for the wellbeing of the island.

F. Economic conditions of the laboring classes.

The conditions under which the Puerto Rican workers labor have not improved, rather their lot is worse than it was during previous years. With present prices, the cost of food for workers engaged in agricultural occupations, having to support a family of five, would be \$17.50 per week. The increase in wages has not kept pace with the increase in the cost of food. What part of his earnings can a worker devote to paying for clothing, house rent and medical service, not to mention a little for recreation? The chart appended at the end of this chapter, shows graphically the disproportion between the increase in the cost of food and the increase in wages during the years 1933 and 1934.

(1) "Monthly Labor Review", October, 1932, Pp.814-817.

G - Economic Betterment. "The Island,"

says Doctor M. H. Donaldson, "seems to eat too little and to have too many children." The growth of population lies at the root of Puerto Rico's difficulties, resulting in low wages, unemployment, and inadequate subsistence. Any program of economic betterment that is to prove permanently helpful must, therefore, seek either to reduce population or to expand production through an improved utilization of the physical resources of the Island.

In regard to the possibilities of relieving population pressure by means of emigration, it may be stated that the possible opportunities for Puerto Rican workers outside the Island are of two kinds: as unskilled laborer in the tropics, generally as field hands on sugar plantations, and as skilled or unskilled laborers in the United States. The first opening usually presents itself as a chance to join a party of recruits consisting of several hundred workers and perhaps their families, whose cost of travel is paid by their prospective employers and who contract to serve the latter for a definite period. On the other hand, workers migrating to the mainland whether skilled or unskilled, usually

go as individuals or in family groups, pay their own expenses, and take their chance of finding employment in their new home. Most of these migrants have some slight resources of their own and some knowledge of English and are qualified to take positions rather better than those of common laborers.

Opportunities for employment are open in the rapidly developing Caribbean area, in spite of overpopulation of certain parts of it, like Puerto Rico, Haiti and Jamaica. But English-speaking negroes of the British islands and French-speaking negroes of Haiti will work for lower wages and are better fitted for the rude tasks of opening undeveloped country and laying out and cultivating tropical plantations than are the white or part-white Puerto Rican mountaineers, with their physical handicaps of ill health and malnutrition. A mass movement of Puerto Rican labor to the neighboring tropics is, therefore, as unlikely as it is inadvisable.

Puerto Ricans are going to the mainland, especially New York City, in search of employment. In this connection, it is interesting to note an article published in "The Sun", of New York, under date of January 3, 1936, entitled "Puerto Rican

(1) By Hubert Herring, December 6, 1933, page 1033.

Pupils a Problem". This article said, in part, as follows:

"Existing school procedure in New York City is not suitable for children of Puerto Rican birth or parentage....Puerto Ricans are adding greatly to the already tremendous problem of intellectually subnormal school retardates of alien parentage.....Most Puerto Rican children here cannot be assimilated in the existing type of civilization.....At the same time, attempts to force such pupils into school grades for which they are not fitted, the existing method of great and invidious distinctions between classmates, or even providing what youngsters consider discriminatory education, are all equally cruel to children, of sufficient poignancy to give them a reckless disregard, even contempt, for laws they flout, via truancy and other delinquency."

While in some other part of this thesis I have praised the work done by the United States in Puerto Rico, by way of contrast I quote herewith from an article published in "The Christian Century", entitled "Forgotten Puerto Rico" (1):

"We took Puerto Rico in 1898. We were not invited by the Puerto Ricans nor did we ask their consent. The redoubtable General Miles sailed in and Puerto Rico was annexed with a flourish and a speech. 'The people of the United States,' he said, 'in the cause of liberty, justice and humanity, comes bearing the banner of freedom inspired by a noble purpose..... to bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold.....' That was in 1898. The fostering arm of the nation of free people has been over the island ever since. Part of the record has been good. Health conditions greatly improved....The educational system has been strengthened

(1) By Hubert Herring, December 6, 1933, page 1533.

until there are schools for 50% of the children of the island....Illiteracy has been greatly reduced. Roads have been built. However, viewed in the light of the rosy promises made by those who took the island we will have to confess that our record has not been brilliant. Puerto Rico has become the forgotten island....There are certain individuals who have not forgotten Puerto Rico. The sugar men for example, looked upon the island and found it good. They found lands which nature had obviously planned for sugar fields. These lands were inefficiently divided up between a large number of small independent farmers, who with their families lived happily and precariously upon their little plots of one or two or five acres. There was a high death rate from hookworm, typhoid, smallpox, tuberculosis and malaria. The death rate offset the more than generous birth rate. (1) The fostering arm of the sugar people gathered on these little farmers and their farms. Now the little farmers are limited to the mountain land which is good only for coffee and the best land is done up in large parcels in the hands of five very large companies and many others not so large. Nine tenths of the sugar land of the island

Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico), they were...

(1) The birth rate is almost twice that of the United States as a whole, and is steadily increasing. The death rate, on the other hand, has fallen from an annual average of 29.6 per thousand during the last ten years of the Spanish regime to 22.4 per thousand since 1925. The following table, taken from "Porto Rico and Its Problems", (Introduction, page XXIV), shows the birth and death rate by five-year intervals since 1900:

5-Year Averages	:	Births Per 1,000	:	Deaths Per 1,000	:	Net Increase
1900-04.....	:	28.99	:	26.39	:	2.60
1905-09.....	:	33.02	:	23.00	:	10.02
1910-14.....	:	36.57	:	21.75	:	14.82
1915-19.....	:	37.82	:	26.73	:	11.09
1920-24.....	:	38.33	:	21.70	:	16.63
1925-28.....	:	40.55	:	22.43	:	18.12

is owned by alien interests. The independent farmer of yesterday is working for these interests and the income from sugar after pitiful wages are paid goes to the continental United States.

"Nor was the island forgotten by those who had goods or services to sell. The peddlers of electrical power, shoes, cotton goods, footstuffs and bank credit moved in. The islanders were paid under-wage scales dictated by organized capitalism confronted with a surplus of helpless labor. The peddlers sold within the tariff wall of the United States. As a result, we find sugar workers receiving fifty or sixty cents a day with no more than seven months' work in the year and buying the necessities of life in a market determined by our high protective tariff."

XIV - THE PEOPLE

A - Aborigines. "It appears that at the time of the discovery of the Larger Antilles (Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico), they were occupied by a race which probably originated from some part of the southern division of the northern continent. The chronicles mention the Guaycures and others as their possible ancestors, and Stahl traces their origin to a mixture of the Phoenicians with the aborigines of the remote antiquity. Like most of the aboriginal inhabitants of America, the natives of Puerto Rico were copper colored, but somewhat darker than the inhabitants of the neighboring islands. They were shorter of stature than the Spaniards but

corpulent and well proportioned, with flat noses, wide nostrils, dull eyes, bad teeth, narrow foreheads, the skull artificially flattened before and behind so as to give it a conical shape, with long black coarse hair, beardless and hairless on the rest of the body. Their whole appearance betrayed a lazy, indolent habit and they showed extreme aversion to labor or fatigue of any kind. They put forth no exertion save what was necessary to obtain food and only rose from their hamacas or shook off their habitual indolence to play a game of ball (batey) or at the dances (areytos) which were accompanied by rude music and the chanting of whatever happened to occupy their minds at the time. Notwithstanding their indolence and the unsubstantial nature of their food, they were comparatively strong and robust. Generally speaking the Puerto Rican of today may be said to be descended from three distinct races: the Indian, the Spaniard and the negro. The Spaniards brought no women with them so that there sprang up wherever they went a mixed race pur sang on the one hand and aboriginal on the other, the mestizo, hybrid born physically and morally. The negro slaves imported early in the sixteenth century introduced a new racial element

and by the side of the mestizo there developed the zambo, common offspring of the two. Later negro women from Santo Domingo and other islands added the mulatto to an early heterogeneous condition of race. It was not until very late in the history of the island that corrective features and elements were introduced by a new influx of prosperous Spanish settlers and their families driven from Venezuela and the mainland by the incessant revolutions in those countries. The present inhabitants are mostly of Spanish origin -- immigrants from Spain during the last 400 years and their descendants." (1) There are historians who claim that the natives were of Arawak or Carib stock. No trace of them now remains although there are people on the island whose hair and complexion seem to indicate a mixture of Indian and negro blood. Many people from Maricao often claim to be of Indian descent.

B - The Jibaros. In the year 1810, about 86% of the population of Puerto Rico was rural, or jibaros. The following description, written by Flinter about 1833, gives an idea of the economic

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems", pages 554-555.

condition of the Puerto Rican peasants at that time:

"The jibaros, a name which is applied to those white people who reside in the country, are very civil in their manners....They swing to and fro in their hammocks all day long, smoking cigars and twanging their guitars. The plantain groves which surround their houses, and the coffee trees which grow almost without cultivation, afford them a frugal subsistence. If in addition, they have a cow and a horse, they consider themselves rich and happy.....The houses, or rather cabins, of the poor jibaros, are built on posts, which are absolutely necessary to preserve them from the humidity of the earth; but they are only raised two or three feet from the ground. In place of boards, the floor is made of the large bamboo, or the palm tree, split like clap boards. These bend beneath the foot, and between the interstices everything below is discernible. The huts are divided into two apartments by a partition of reeds; the room in which the family sit by day and the sleeping room.....A few calabash shells and earthen pots, one or two hammocks made of the bark of the palm tree, two or three game cocks, and a machete are all of their movable property. A few coffee trees and plantains, a cow and a horse, an acre of land in corn and sweet potatoes, constitute the property of what would be denominated a comfortable jibaro. This individual mounted on his emaciated horse, dressed in a broad-brimmed straw hat, cotton jacket, clean shirt and checkered pantaloons sallies forth from his cabin to mass, to a cock fight or to a dance, thinking himself the most independent and happy being in existence." (1)

Eighty-four years later, in 1917, the following description was written of the jibaro:

"The jibaro arises at dawn and takes a coconut dipperful of cafe puya (coffee without sugar). Naturally, he never uses milk. With this black coffee he works till about twelve o'clock, when

(1) "The Historian's History of the World", Vol. X, page 402.

his wife brings him his breakfast, corresponding to our lunch. This is composed of boiled salt codfish, with oil, and has one of the following vegetables of the island to furnish the carbohydrate element: banana, platano, name, batata or jautia. At three in the afternoon he takes another dipperful of coffee, as he began the day. At dusk he returns to his house and has one single dish, a sort of stew, made of the current vegetables of the island, with rice and codfish. At rare intervals he treats himself to pork, of which he is inordinately fond, and on still rarer occasions he visits the town and eats quantities of bread, without butter, of course. With the wage paid him he can get no better diet." (1)

Some time ago a writer wrote about them:

"What has civilization done for the poor jibaro?

In former times, they rarely worked. They swung to and fro in their hammocks, smoking cigars and twanging their guitars. Now they work from morning sun till dawn, and they don't even have a hammock to swing on, nor a guitar to twang."

The Puerto Rican historian Coll y Toste says that the origin of the word jibaro proceeds from a port in Cuba (Jibara), and that it is composed of two words of Indian origin, jiba, meaning mountain, and ero, man. Another historian, Brau, said that the term was applied to a laborer, but that its true significance is a mountain dweller. Today, our

(1) Fleagle "Social Problems in Porto Rico", pp.8-9. "The author," says Dr. M. H. Donaldson, "left out the corn meal, much sweetened with live sugar cane juice, a dish fit for a king, but that a king can't get."

understanding of the term is a peasant, a tiller of the soil, a man whose life is not that of the town, and who lacks its culture. And when we say that a man is a jibaro, we put him in a separate and distinct class, a class of country laborers. These people live now as they lived 100 or 200 years ago, close to the soil. The typical Puerto Rican house is still the bohio, and most people who don't frequent that live in pineboard houses, more or less elaborate.

Besides this type of wage-earning countrymen, there is another type of rural population, the landowners or planters, who are usually people who in many ways closely resemble the country gentleman or squire of England. They are people of considerable importance in their communities, frequently well educated and widely traveled, men who do not hesitate to spend their money freely for their comfort and that of their families when the crops are plentiful and the prices good. They exercise a sort of patronage over the country people who work for them, many of whom live in houses on land provided by the landlord. The laborer look to the landlord for guidance and for advice in practically all matters pertaining to their economic life, and the planter

usually reciprocates by caring for the welfare of the countryman to the best of his ability.

C - The educated class. In spite of the varied bloods from which they came, the Puerto Ricans are more homogeneous than the Cubans, as the result of a long period during which they were much isolated and became assimilated. "The educated classes of the Island have a Latin cultural background. The masses speak Spanish or a Spanish patois, and most of their cultural traditions are derived from Spain. Yet, these are only partly Latin in race and their manners and mental habits have been modified by centuries of primitive environment and more recently by thirty years of contact with North Americans." (1)

The Puerto Ricans, courteous, hospitable, industrious, peaceable, law-abiding and intelligent, are "of Spanish culture and largely of Spanish blood. They are so to speak members of the family of the United States by marriage, by blood relations of all the Spanish America. They are in an ideal position to serve as the connecting link between the

(1) "Porto Rico and Its Problems", page 10.

visitors in their salas open to the street and are two great divisions. In them and their island the cultures of the two, the North and the South can meet and blend. If we deal with the Island rightly it can be of great value not merely to the United States but to the entire hemisphere. We must not try to eliminate the customs and culture of Puerto Rico by substituting therefor our own customs and culture. I do not believe that we could do so if we tried. And if we could Puerto Rico would lose its value. We have been known in the South as sordid materialists. Dollar diplomacy has become a synonym for our actions. If we are to inspire confidence in South Americans, we must show them we are anxious to help them and their problems as well as to trade with them. We can do this effectively through Puerto Rico." (1)

D - Homelife. "In their home life the Puerto Ricans adhere to their old time customs. They parade about the plazas in the cool evening, lean from jutting balconies and watch the passing throngs, gossip and live in soft creole Spanish receiving

(1) "Foreign Affairs", January, 1934, page 272.

visitors in their salas open to the street and are as vivacious, light-hearted, frivolous and carefree as ever. In costumes, business and other matters the Puerto Ricans have adopted American ideas and customs with wonderful facility. The large stores are up-to-date, stocked with American and European goods. Cash registers, pneumatic money-carriers, elevators, bargain sales and auto travel are now a necessary part of Puerto Rican business, a large proportion of which is in the hands of the Spaniards. Graceful mantillas have given way to outlandish latest Parisian styles in hats, high-powered automobiles have replaced the old time coaches and moving pictures, baseball games and horse races now attract the crowds that formerly flocked to bull-ring or cockpit. (1) American though Puerto Rico may be, yet it is merely on the surface. At heart the Puerto Rican is a Puerto Rican first, last and all the time, and to his credit be it said, for our colonial policies are far from perfection, and we have much to learn." (2) of the great American government and people, but most of the credit is due to the splendid cooperation of the Porto Ricans

(1) Cockfighting, prohibited since the first years of the American occupation, was recently declared legal by the legislature.

(2) Hyatt Verrill "Porto Rico Past and Present," page 17.

XV - CONCLUSION

In dealing with Puerto Rico, I have quoted at length from various authors, some of them seeming to have looked upon the work of the United States in that Island with perhaps a little too critical eye. Therefore, in summing up the situation in Puerto Rico at the present time as compared with that at the date of her annexation to the United States, it is with gladdened heart that I quote below from an article written by Oscar P. Austin, in a booklet published by The National City Bank's Branch at San Juan, in 1920, entitled "Trading with our Neighbors in the Caribbean. (1)

"The two decades of progress made by Porto Rico under the American flag taken altogether constitute a record which cannot be equalled by any people anywhere in the world in the same length of time. It is a record creditable alike to the Porto Ricans themselves and to the great free Republic to which they owe allegiance. Much of it is due to the liberality and generous aid of the great American government and people, but most of the credit is due to the splendid cooperation of the Porto Ricans themselves. Without their cooperation, little of

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this progress could have been made. But the people of the island have eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity offered them for improvement. With patriotic devotion to their Island and with a real aspiration for progress, they have made a quick response to all the changes that were necessary for development. In politics and government, in education, in commerce and industry, in social and moral improvement, they have offered their cooperation and aid to the forces that have made for betterment. This is the simple truth as to the past, and this is the best augury for the future."

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Countries	Imports
PUERTO RICO.....	\$59,477,000
Mexico.....	53,354,000
Cuba.....	45,555,000
Argentina.....	42,682,000
Brazil.....	42,392,000
Colombia.....	21,942,000
Venezuela.....	19,382,000
Panama.....	18,320,000
Chile.....	12,029,000
Peru.....	9,787,000

(1) First two, listed in order of importance.

TABLE I

POSITION OF PUERTO RICO IN THE TRADE OF
THE UNITED STATES WITH LATIN
AMERICA - 1934

IMPORTS INTO U. S. (1)

<u>Country</u>	
Countries	Amount
Brazil.....	\$91,484,000
PUERTO RICO.....	81,184,000
Cuba.....	78,929,000
Colombia.....	47,115,000
Mexico.....	36,495,000
Argentina.....	29,487,000
Chile.....	22,910,000
Venezuela.....	22,120,000
Honduras.....	7,791,000
Peru.....	4,711,000

EXPORTS FROM U. S. (1)

<u>Country</u>	
Countries	Amount
PUERTO RICO.....	\$59,477,000
Mexico.....	55,356,000
Cuba.....	45,355,000
Argentina.....	42,686,000
Brazil.....	40,382,000
Colombia.....	21,943,000
Venezuela.....	19,286,000
Panama.....	18,820,000
Chile.....	12,029,000
Peru.....	9,767,000

(1) First ten, listed in order of importance.

TABLE I

POSITION OF PUERTO RICO IN THE TRADE OF
THE UNITED STATES WITH LATIN
AMERICA - 1934

IMPORTS INTO U. S. (1)

Amount	Countries
\$21,484,000	Brazil.....
81,184,000	PUERTO RICO.....
78,929,000	Cuba.....
47,118,000	Colombia.....
38,483,000	Mexico.....
39,487,000	Argentina.....
22,910,000	Chile.....
22,180,000	Venezuela.....
7,791,000	Honduras.....
4,711,000	Peru.....

EXPORTS FROM U. S. (1)

Amount	Countries
\$59,477,000	PUERTO RICO.....
55,356,000	Mexico.....
45,355,000	Cuba.....
42,686,000	Argentina.....
40,362,000	Brazil.....
31,943,000	Colombia.....
19,285,000	Venezuela.....
18,820,000	Panama.....
12,029,000	Chile.....
9,767,000	Peru.....

(1) First ten, listed in order of importance.

TABLE IIPUERTO RICO'S PLACE IN THE EXTERIOR TRADE
OF THE UNITED STATES, 1934SHIPMENTS FROM U.S.(1)

Country	:	Amount
United Kingdom.....	:	\$383,316,994
Canada.....	:	302,417,581
Japan.....	:	210,420,136
France.....	:	115,936,674
Germany.....	:	108,814,547
China.....	:	68,631,878
Italy.....	:	64,906,799
Hawaii.....	:	63,472,682
PUERTO RICO.....	:	59,477,288
Mexico.....	:	55,355,548

SHIPMENTS TO THE U.S.(1)

Country	:	Amount
Canada.....	:	\$231,689,607
Japan.....	:	119,251,106
United Kingdom.....	:	115,357,580
British Malaya.....	:	105,498,852
Hawaii.....	:	94,513,699
Brazil.....	:	87,811,089
Philippine Islands.....	:	81,484,306
PUERTO RICO.....	:	81,184,396
Cuba.....	:	78,928,916
Germany.....	:	68,805,488

(1) First ten, in order of importance.

KEY TO CHART ON PAGE 224

-----		:	-----	
Bars	1933	:	Bars	1934
-----		:	-----	
1. Cost of Food		:	2. Cost of Food	
3. Sugar Mills		:	4. Sugar Mills	
5. Sugar Cane Planting (M)		:	6. Sugar Cane Planting (M)	
7. Sugar Cane Planting (F)		:	8. Sugar Cane Planting (F)	
9. Sugar Cane Planting (B)		:	10. Sugar Cane Planting (B)	
11. Tobacco Planting (M)		:	12. Tobacco Planting (M)	
13. Tobacco Planting (F)		:	14. Tobacco Planting (F)	
15. Tobacco Planting (B)		:	16. Tobacco Planting (B)	
17. Tobacco Stripping (M)		:	18. Tobacco Stripping (M)	
19. Tobacco Stripping (F)		:	20. Tobacco Stripping (F)	
		:		
-----			-----	

(M) Males
 (F) Females
 (B) Boys

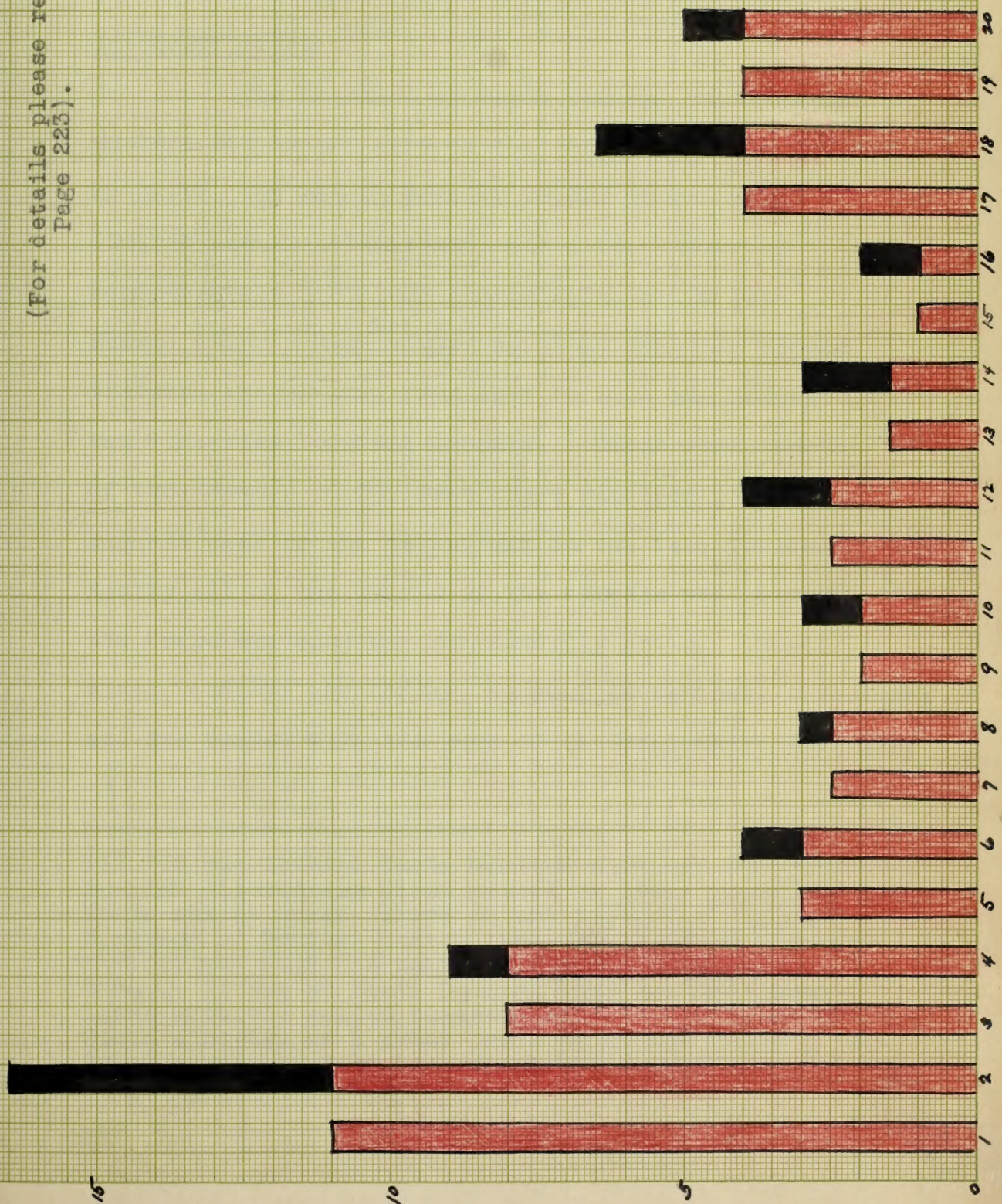
KEY TO CHART ON PAGE 234

1934	1935
1. Cost of Food	1. Cost of Food
2. Sugar Mills	2. Sugar Mills
3. Sugar Cane Planting (M)	3. Sugar Cane Planting (M)
4. Sugar Cane Planting (F)	4. Sugar Cane Planting (F)
5. Sugar Cane Planting (B)	5. Sugar Cane Planting (B)
6. Tobacco Planting (M)	6. Tobacco Planting (M)
7. Tobacco Planting (F)	7. Tobacco Planting (F)
8. Tobacco Planting (B)	8. Tobacco Planting (B)
9. Tobacco Stripping (M)	9. Tobacco Stripping (M)
10. Tobacco Stripping (F)	10. Tobacco Stripping (F)

(M).....Males
(F).....Females
(B).....Boys

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COST OF FOOD AND THE EARNINGS OF
WORKERS IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES IN PUERTO RICO - 1933-1934

(For details please refer to
Page 223).



CHAPTER THREE

SANTO DOMINGO (1)

I - DESCRIPTION

The Republic of Santo Domingo occupies the eastern and larger part of the island of Santo Domingo or Haiti. It has an area of 19,325 square miles (50,070 square kilometers), and a population of approximately 1,022,485 inhabitants, or 53 per square mile. Four almost parallel mountain ranges traverse the country from east to west and modify the otherwise tropical climate. Mount Tina, south of the center, 10,300 feet above sea level, is the highest peak on the island and in the West Indies. Nearly all of the fruits of the tropics and many of the temperate zone are successfully grown. Sugar, cacao, tobacco and coffee, as well as cabinet, structural and dye woods, with the pods of the well-known divi-divi

(1) "It was through Santo Domingo that all the great Spanish discoverers first passed on later expeditions. There was no great figure in the history of Spain's conquest of Mexico, Central America, or South America who did not walk the same streets which we can walk today. It was at Santo Domingo that all the vessels laden with the golden treasure which contributed to Spain's heyday as a great power of Europe congregated twice a year to make the voyage thence to Spain,

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tree, used for tanning, are largely exported. Iron, copper, gold, nickel, chrome, cobalt, silver, mercury, tin, coal, asbestos, phosphate, petroleum, amber and guano have been found. Salt is produced in quantity.

II - HISTORICAL SKETCH

Columbus, on his first voyage, having discovered Guanahani and skirted the coast of Cuba, sighted Santo Domingo on December 6, 1492. (1) He took possession of the island in the name of the King of Spain, calling it "La Isla Espanola", or Hispaniola, because of its similarity to certain regions of Spain. The territory now forming the Dominican Republic was then occupied by an inoffensive, peaceful race of Indians who had divided the island into five kingdoms, and whom the Spaniards easily subdued and enslaved. (2)

Santo Domingo for more than a century formed the basis of operations for the Spanish explorers and conquistadores, and the capital of the present

trusting in their numbers for protection against the freebooters and British raiders who occasionally wreaked havoc upon them." "American City Series Bulletin No. 8-A, Washington, D.C., 1930, page 3.

(1) "The city is of unusual interest because it is the oldest settlement founded by Europeans in the New World. Here in 1496 Bartholomew Columbus started a settlement and for nearly a hundred years the place was the Spanish headquarters in the Western Continent." "Dominican Republic", Bulletin # 8, page 13.

(2) See "Aborigines", page 257.

Dominican Republic may justly claim to have been the metropolis of the vast colonial empire of Spain. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries French, Dutch and British buccaneers established themselves in the West Indies, first on St. Christopher and afterward on Tortuga, lying a few miles off the northwest coast of what is now the Republic of Haiti. At that time Spain began to bother about the rising sea power of Britain and Queen Elizabeth soon heard of plans being laid to crush her kingdom. She determined to strike first and in the lefthanded manner of the time granted letters of marque to Sir Francis Drake. He organized a squadron of twenty-five ships manned by more than two thousand sailors and soldiers. In 1585 the fleet set sail to the Indies. On his way he took Santiago and the Cape de Verde Islands and left with most of their provisions and treasure. His first objective was the city of Santo Domingo, which was then one of the chief Spanish strongholds in the West Indies. On New Year's Day, 1586, he secretly landed troops and the next day quickly took the city. "This date may be taken as marking the decline of the city. The mines of Mexico, Peru and Colombia

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drew interest away from the islands to the mainland. Gradually the decay became more rapid and about 1735 the place is said to have contained only about 500 inhabitants." (1)

In 1630 the buccaneers, mostly French, invaded the adjoining island and planted a colony which proved to be of great consequence in the history of Santo Domingo. A period of constant strife ensued between the French and other settlers, until by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, France obtained possession of the western half of the island, and, by the treaty of Basel in 1795, of the eastern, or Spanish half, thus gaining possession of the entire island. Most of the inhabitants were slaves and in 1791 a fierce insurrection of the negroes broke out. They were led by Toussaint L'Ouverture who established an independent republic and continually ruled as dictator over the whole island. "The negro slaves (about 400,000) called to the aid of the white planters who had demanded for themselves equality of rights with the citizens of the mother country, but who with extreme indignation resited the grant declared by the National Assembly of May, 1791, of civil rights to the free colored men,

(1) "Dominican Republic", page 13.

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500 inhabitants." (1)

In 1830 the buccanniers, mostly French, invaded the adjoining island and planted a colony which proved to be of great consequence in the history of Santo Domingo. A period of constant strife ensued between the French and other settlers, until by the treaty of Ryawick, in 1837, France obtained possession of the western half of the island, and, by the treaty of Basel in 1795, of the eastern, or Spanish half, thus gaining possession of the entire island. Most of the inhabitants were slaves and in 1791 a fierce insurrection of the negroes broke out. They were led by Toussaint L'Ouverture who established an independent republic and continually ruled as dictator over the whole island. "The negro slaves (about 400,000) called to the aid of the white planters who had demanded for themselves equality of rights with the citizens of the mother country, but who with extreme indignation resisted the grant declared by the National Assembly of May, 1791, of civil rights to the free colored men,

threw themselves with brutal rage upon their white masters, tortured them to death and ruined their plantations." (1) In 1802 Bonaparte waged war against Toussaint L'Ouverture who was seized and taken to France.

In the year 1809 Spain and England being at war with France, the Spanish colonists rose, and, aided by the British forces, captured the city of Santo Domingo on July 11, and Spanish rule was once more established.

In 1821 the inhabitants of the Spanish part of the island declared their independence of Spain, and desired their country's incorporation as a State of Greater Colombia, hoping to secure the assistance of Simon Bolivar. Colombia could not assist the new State, and so Jean Pierre Boyer, President of Haiti, in 1822 was able to extend his government over the whole island. The Haitian Dominion lasted until 1844, when, on February 27, the people rose in arms against the Government, and in 1846 again established an independent State.

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(1) "History of All Nations", Vol. XVI, pp.189,216;
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protection, and on March 18, 1861, was formally annexed to that country. This rule, however, soon became intolerable, and a revolution, initiated at Capotillo on August 16, 1863, resulted in the restoration of the Dominican Republic, the Spanish Crown relinquishing all claim to the country on May 1, 1865.

Since this period there have been a number of provisional and constitutional Presidents down to the provisional Presidency of Francisco H. Carvajal in 1916, whose rule was terminated on November 29 of that year, by a military occupation by American forces, acting under instructions of the President of the United States.

"Continual internal disturbances from the 'War of the Restoration' (1863-65) to 1904, left the Dominican Republic under a crushing debt of \$32,000,000. Her annual revenues were about \$1,850,000 and her annual expenditures \$3,900,000. Rumors were rife that European nations would intervene to collect debts due their citizens. To forestall armed intervention Secretary of State John Hay in February, 1905, negotiated a protocol with the Republic which provided that the United States should adjust her debts and administer her customs receipts.

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"Continual internal disturbances from the War of the Restoration" (1863-65) to 1904, left the Dominican Republic under a crushing debt of \$32,000,000. Her annual revenues were about \$1,850,000 and her annual expenditures \$2,900,000. Rumors were rife that European nations would intervene to collect debts due their citizens. To forestall armed intervention Secretary of State John Hay in February, 1905, negotiated a protocol with the Republic which provided that the United States should adjust her debts and administer her customs receipts.

Because a clause in the convention was interpreted as establishing a protectorate, the United States Senate refused to ratify the treaty. President Roosevelt, however, made an executive arrangement with the president of the bankrupt republic essentially on these lines and on April 1, 1905 put that modus vivendi into force and placed an agent of the United States in charge of her fiscal administration. Marked improvement followed; her debt was adjusted and credit restored. A treaty was signed on February 8, 1907, which provided that the United States government should administer the customs of the Dominican Republic. Eight years of honest administration reduced the total debt to \$21,500,000. It was inevitable that the administration of the finances of the Dominican Republic could not proceed without friction and interference with the government of that country. Political troubles and serious disturbances followed to suppress which the Dominican Republic officials incurred fresh debts without the approval of the United States which demanded a supplementary convention be arranged. The Dominicans refused to consent. A coup d'etat by Arias deposing

(1) "The World Almanac", 1933, page 333.

(2) Pages 293-295.

President Jimenez in April, 1916, was followed by disorders. The United States landed a detachment of marines and suppressed the insurrectionists and on November 29, 1916, Captain Knapp, U.S.N., issued a proclamation announcing that the Dominican Republic was under military administration of the United States and declaring that his government did not intend to destroy the sovereignty of the Republic but wished to enable her to restore internal order so that she might observe her international obligations." (1)

In this connection, it is interesting to note what "The Nation of May 23, 1934, (2), had to say about the American intervention in the island:

"After the Navy Department in 1916 had swept aside the existing Dominican Government and the American Commanding Officer, Captain H.S. Knapp had declared himself to be 'supreme executive, supreme legislator and supreme judge', the task of reconstruction of the Dominican Republic and its inhabitants was for eight years in the hands of our military. Recalcitrant Dominicans who took to the hills for the honorable purpose of combating the invader were labeled bandits and effectively disposed of by our lathernecks. There were the atrocities incidental to 'pacification'. The motivation of the occupation was basically economic - to make certain of obtaining from the Dominicans the debt which our receivership had been trying to collect since President Theodore Roosevelt established it in 1905. The occupation main objectives were first financial rehabilitation and secondly, law and order to preserve the new

(1) "The World Almanac", 1935, page 685.

(2) Pages 583-585.

habiliments. Some fearful and wonderful things were perpetrated under the first objective. There was, for instance, the \$2,500,000 four-year customs administration 8% sinking-fund loan issued according to its prospectus, signed by Lieutenant Commander Arthur M. Mayo of the Navy Supply Corps, 'by the United States Military Government at Santo Domingo in behalf of the Dominican Republic.' The bonds were redeemable at 105 at six months intervals. For those fortunate bond holders whose bonds were redeemed at the end of the first six months the yield was 18.91%. Those who waited a full year, received 13.20%. Those whose bonds were called after 18 and 24 months netted respectively 11.28 and 10.37%. The less fortunate who had to wait until maturity received only 9.07%. The bonds were of course guaranteed by our occupancy. Speyer and Company and the Equitable Trust Company floated the loan in the United States. Needless to say with such rates on the investors' dollars it floated like cork." (1)

A general election for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic was held in March, 1924, and on July 12 of the same year General Horacio Vasquez and Federico Velasquez, respectively having been duly elected, were inaugurated and assumed the duties of their offices. On the afternoon of the same day the American flag was lowered and the withdrawal of United States forces was begun, thus restoring to the Dominican Republic full and complete sovereignty.

(1) "Most bonds of Latin governments, either pay big or default. High interest (nominal) is customary. But it is hardly usual to pay in full. Speyer's clients took a big risk, and actually won." M. H. Donaldson.

III - CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

"From the date of the declaration of independence, February 27, 1844, down to the present time, with the exception only of a portion of the period of Spanish occupation of 1861 to 1865, Santo Domingo has remained in form at least, a republic. Herein it contrasts with its neighbor Haiti, which has experienced several monarchies. Thus Dessalines proclaimed himself emperor in 1804, Christophe assumed the title of king in 1810 and Soulouque had himself declared emperor in 1849; and the latter two instituted pompous black nobilities. And though the Cibao of Santo Domingo and the region south of the Central Cordillera have ever been rivals and often in arms against each other under competing generals, there has never been any tendency to separate and form two states -- as occurred in Haiti in 1806 when the northern portion fell under the sway of Christophe for a period of fourteen years, first as a nominal republic and later as a kingdom, while the southern portion became a republic under Petion and finally under Boyer.

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"But although the country has in form remained a republic and the title of the chief of

state has never been more pretentious than president or protector, in fact there have been few years when the government was not autocratic and the president an absolute monarch whose powers were limited only by his own generous impulses or the fear of alienating his more influential supporters. Dominican writers have even referred to the constitution as a conventional lie.

"The various Dominican presidents, as soon as securely in power, have generally been careful to follow constitutional forms, in an effort to deceive their followers and themselves into the belief that they were acting in regular course as servants of the people. The successful revolutionist was almost always in haste to 'legalize' his position by an election. Most of the presidents, among them Heureaux, have been great sticklers for form. Instead of moulding their wishes to conform to the constitution, however, they would mould the constitution to conform to their wishes, and repeatedly the first act of the successful revolutionist has been to promulgate a new constitution in accordance with his ideas. It has thus come to pass that the constitution, far from being revered as the immutable foundation of

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government, has rather been regarded as the convenient means for the president in office to exercise power. From 1844 to the present time nineteen constitutions have been promulgated in Santo Domingo, one in the year 1844, one each in 1858, 1859, and 1865, two in 1866 and one each in 1868, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1887, 1896, 1907 and 1908.....The Dominican constitutions have all been modeled on the general lines of that of the United States, and have differed from each other only in detail." (1)

The new Constitution of the Dominican Republic was proclaimed on the 13th day of June, 1924. This constitution provides for a representative form of government divided into legislative, executive and judicial branches.

The National Congress, composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, meets in the capital, Santo Domingo, on the 27th day of February and the 16th of August, respectively, of each year for a session of 90 days, which time may be extended for as much as 60 days. The Senate is composed of one Senator from each Province elected by direct vote for a period of four years. (2) The qualifications for a Senator

(1) Otto Schoenrich "Santo Domingo, a country with a Future", pages 303-305.

(2) The Republic is divided into 12 Provinces, which are subdivided into communes.

are that he be in full enjoyment of civil and political rights, a Dominican citizen, 35 years of age, a native of the Province from which elected, or have resided there for at least five years.

Naturalized citizens may become Senators 10 years after having acquired citizenship provided that continuous residence in the Republic has been maintained for two years preceding election. Deputies are elected also by direct vote for a period of four years and in the proportion of one for every 30,000 inhabitants or fraction of more than 15,000. The requirements for a Deputy are that he be 25 years of age and in full exercise of civil and political rights. Naturalized citizens cannot be elected Deputies until eight years after acquiring citizenship.

The executive power is vested in a President, who is elected every four years by direct vote; he is ineligible to succeed himself as President or to the Vice-Presidency for the term immediately following. To be President one must be a native Dominican, or of Dominican parentage and have been a resident of the Republic for at least 10 years prior to election. He must be over 35 years of age and in the exercise of his civil and political rights. The Vice-President, who is elected at the same time and in the same manner

are that he be in full enjoyment of civil and political rights, a Dominican citizen, 35 years of age, a native of the Province from which elected, or have resided there for at least five years. Naturalized citizens may become Senators 10 years after having acquired citizenship provided that continuous residence in the Republic has been maintained for two years preceding election. Deputies are elected also by direct vote for a period of four years and in the proportion of one for every 30,000 inhabitants or fraction of more than 15,000. The requirements for a Deputy are that he be 25 years of age and in full exercise of civil and political rights. Naturalized citizens cannot be elected Deputies until eight years after acquiring citizenship. The executive power is vested in a President, who is elected every four years by direct vote; he is ineligible to succeed himself as President or to the Vice-Presidency for the term immediately following. To be President one must be a native Dominican, of Dominican parentage and have been a resident of the Republic for at least 10 years prior to election. He must be over 35 years of age and in the exercise of his civil and political rights. The Vice-President, who is elected at the same time and in the same manner

as the President, succeeds the latter in case of a vacancy. To be Vice-President the same qualifications are required as for the Presidency.

The President is assisted by a cabinet composed of the following officers: Secretary of the Interior, Police, War and Marine; Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Secretary of Finances and Commerce; Secretary of Justice and Instruction; Secretary of Public Works and Communication; Secretary of Agriculture and Immigration; Secretary of Sanitation.

IV - LAW AND JUSTICE

"In the year 1510 the Spanish government established in Santo Domingo the first of the famous colonial audiencias, or royal high courts, the list of which appears like a roll call of Spain's former glories. Others were added later in Mexico, Guatemala, Guadalajara, Panama, Lima, Santa Fe de Bogota, Quito, Manila, Santiago de Chile, Charcas (now Sucre), and Buenos Aires. The audiencia of Santo Domingo at first had jurisdiction over all the territory under Spanish dominion in the New World, but upon the establishment of the audiencia of Mexico and others its jurisdiction was confined to the West India Island, and the north coast of South America. Its functions

were both judicial and administrative, including the power to hear appeals from the judges of the district and from certain administrative authorities, and to intervene in certain matters of government, in the finances of the territory and in behalf of the public peace. It applied the law as expressed in the codification of the 'Laws of the Indies', and the Spanish 'Partidas.'

"Upon the beginning of Haitian rule in 1822, when most of the distinguished citizens, including judges and lawyers, left the country, they took with them the ancient legal system. The Haitians imposed their laws, namely, the Code Napoleon and other French codes. These took such deep root that on the expulsion of the Haitians no attempt was made to return to the Spanish laws, which also at that time were still under the disadvantage of not having been revised and codified in accordance with modern needs.....Santo Domingo, the first Spanish colony, has no Spanish laws. It is the only Spanish country which has adopted French legislation so completely, and which looks so largely to France for its jurisprudence." (1)

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," pp. 336-339.

At the present time the judicial power resides in the Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal and lesser courts as prescribed by law. Justices are elected by the Senate for four years and may be reappointed indefinitely.

The local justices of the peace are called "alcaldes". The alcalde, in Spanish times, was an officer exercising both administrative and judicial functions, the name being derived from the Arabic "al cadi", the judge, and whereas in Spain and most of the former Spanish colonies the alcalde has now only administrative duties and his office is equivalent to that of mayor, in Santo Domingo he now exercises solely judicial authority. The alcalde's jurisdiction comprises the smaller police offenses and, in civil cases, matters involving less than \$100, as well as certain cases, such as ejectment suits, where his jurisdiction attached on account of the subject-matter. The alcaldes are appointed by the President of the Republic.

V - POLITICAL PARTIES

"The characteristic features of Dominican politics are the violence of political antagonism and

the absence of differences of principle between the political parties. None of the parties existing today has a platform, and the distinction between them is entirely a matter of personality of the leader. Each party alleges that it has the best people and the purest motives and views with alarm the government of the country by any other party. In practice therefore, politics follows the rule only too common in the Spanish American countries, of resolving itself into a personal struggle between the 'ins' and the 'outs'.

"In the early days of the Republic different policies were occasionally seriously considered. It was then held by some that independence should be preserved at any cost while others contended that in view of the constant civil wars the country should seek peace and progress under the protection of some foreign power. Although the annexationists were at first called conservatives and their opponents liberals, these divergent views were not the exclusive property of any designated group of men, but the annexation idea was generally espoused by the party that happened to be in power, which thus hoped both to save the country and perpetuate its own rule, while independence was invariably supported

by the opposition, which bristled with patriotic indignation and the fear that it might be permanently excluded from the banquet-table.....

"The men who attain prominence in politics range all the way from rude ignorant military chiefs to polished members of the aristocracy. In looking over the annals of Dominican history the same family names constantly recur and it may be affirmed that the government of the country has during the time of independence been in the hands of some twenty families, the members of which have swayed its councils and led its revolutions.....Almost all the chiefs of state since 1899 would have done honor to any country, but all have been obliged by the exigencies of politics to give places in their entourage to men of low standing, whose deeds or misdeeds when in power and whose unbridled ambition, have been a factor in the civil wars.....

"The ill-feeling akin to hatred between many members of the political parties is incredible to one not accustomed to Latin American politics. They will have nothing in common, neither will acknowledge the existence of any good in the other, they endeavor

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"The ill-feeling akin to hatred between many members of the political parties is incredible to one not accustomed to Latin American politics. They will have nothing in common, neither will acknowledge the existence of any good in the other, they endeavor

to keep apart in the clubs, they do not care to buy in each other's stores. Even the women enter into this bitterness and engagements have been broken because the bridegroom was discovered to favor one party while the bride or her family sympathized with the other.....The election of the presidential candidate supported by the government was generally so certain that all other aspirants realized the futility of launching their candidacy, and their followers either voted for the official candidate or refrained from voting....."(1)

In this connection, one is reminded of the convincing political speeches attributed to one of the foremost men of La Vega during the farcical campaigns preceding the elections of Heureaux:

"My friends," he is quoted as saying, "this Republic is founded on the free and unrestricted suffrage of its citizens. It is the proud boast of the Dominican that under the constitution he may vote as he pleases. You are therefore free to cast your vote for whomsoever you prefer. I would not be your friend, however, if I did not advise you

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," pp. 322-327.

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(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," pp.
322-323.

that whoever does not vote for Heaureaux might as well leave the country."

VI - FINANCES

"The financial system of Santo Domingo is characterized by an inequitable mode of obtaining public revenue, whereby the burden of supporting the state is thrown upon the poorest classes in the form of indirect taxes upon articles of necessary consumption, and wherein taxation of property or contribution according to economic capacity plays little part. This is especially true with regard to municipal taxation." (1) The revenues of the general government are derived chiefly from customs duties and secondarily from miscellaneous minor sources. There is no direct tax on land. Almost 95% of the customs receipts are obtained from import duties.

The following is a table of recent budgets:

:	Year	:	Revenue : Expenditures:

:	1929	:	\$13,984,860 : \$13,967,545 :
:	1930	:	9,975,674 : 10,642,189 :
:	1931	:	7,311,418 : 7,920,120 :
:	1932	:	7,424,652 : 7,424,652 :
:	1933	:	7,063,496 : 7,063,496 :

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," p.376.

The Dominican monetary standard is the United States gold dollar. Except for about \$200,000 in Dominican coins (there is no Dominican gold or paper money) all currency in circulation is United States currency. For about fifty years after the declaration of independence, coins of many countries, principally Mexican silver and Spanish gold, were in circulation, with the rate of exchange constantly fluctuating. In 1890 the Republic joined the Latin convention and in the following year through the then existing Banque Nationale de Saint Domingue issued silver and copper coins to the value of about \$200,000. In 1894 the gold standard was adopted and though no actual coinage took place all official financial transactions were thereafter based upon gold values. "In 1895 and 1897 President Heureau issued more silver coins, or rather, coins washed over with silver, to the nominal amount of \$2,250,000, but the seigniorage was so enormous that the issue was a case of a government counterfeiting its own money. The rate of exchange fell to five pesos for one dollar gold and this is the rate legalized by the law of June 19, 1905, which made the American gold dollar the standard of the Republic."(1)

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," p. 384.

VII - TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

A - Railways. The railways of the Republic have an extent of approximately 150 miles. There are besides about 225 miles of private lines on the large estates. The Dominican Central Railways, which formerly belonged to an American company, became by virtue of contract made by the Government in February, 1908, the property of the Republic. This road connects the two important cities of Puerto Plata and Santiago with an extension to Moca, and has a length of 60 miles, 25 miles of which run through broken and mountainous lands. The Samana and Santiago Railway runs from Sanchez into the interior, reaching the towns of San Francisco de Macoris, La Vega, Salcedo and Moca. The total length of this line is 84 miles.

B - Highways. About 1908 the first step toward the construction of a general highway system was initiated. Between that year and 1916 a total of 76 kilometers was completed at a cost of \$1,700,000. Today there are three principal highways known by the names of the patriots Duarte, Mella and Sanchez. The Duarte highway, nearly

300 kilometers in length, extends from north to south, dividing the Republic into two areas.

This highway traverses zones of cacao, tobacco and coffee production and passes through some of the most beautiful sections of the country. The second highway of importance is that known as the Mella. This road, 175 kilometers in length, extends in an easterly direction, passing through a country of beautiful panoramas and providing an outlet for the cities of San Pedro de Macoris, Hato Mayor, Seybo, and La Romana. The Sanchez highway affords communication between the capital, Santo Domingo, and the capital of Haiti, Port-au-Prince. The distance between Santo Domingo and the Haitian border is about 260 kilometers. In 1927 certain customs restrictions were removed, thus providing freedom of transit for licensed motor vehicles which transport passengers and light freight between the two capital cities. The Republic today has a total of more than 800 miles of good roads.

VIII - AGRICULTURE

The United States Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo reported in 1871: "The resources of the

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VIII - AGRICULTURE

The United States Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo reported in 1971: "The resources of the

country are vast and various, and its products may be increased with scarcely any other limit than the labor expended upon them.....Taken as a whole, this Republic is one of the most fertile regions on the face of the earth. The evidence of men well acquainted with the other West India Islands declares this to be naturally the richest of them all." The best agricultural lands and principal interior towns of the Republic are situated in the famous "Vega Real", or Royal Plain, so called by Columbus, which lies between the middle part of the Cibao and Monte Cristi ranges. It is about 140 miles long with an average breadth of 14 miles.

The following quotation, taken from the often quoted "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," (1) gives a fairly good account of the development of agriculture since the early times of colonization:

"In the first days of colonization it appeared that agricultural prosperity would quickly be attained. Great plantations were set out and the remains of palaces and convents in Santo Domingo City testify to the wealth they produced. But the prosperity was founded on the basis of slavery. The laughing aborigines soon succumbed under forced labor, the importation of negroes was found expensive, and hopes of better fortune attracted the colonists to the American Continent. While the country languished under restrictive trade regulations, stock raising became almost the sole purpose of the Spanish

(1) Pages 145-50. which this quotation was taken, was published in 1918.

section of the island.....The development of the Spanish section had scarcely begun at the end of the 18th century when it was blocked by wars, the Haitian occupation, and later by the civil disturbances. The native had no incentive to accumulate property, which would only attract revolutionists, and the foreigner was chary of investing his money in so turbulent a community.....All the planting of small crops by the poorer countryman is done in what are called 'conucos', cleared spaces fenced by sticks laid tightly against each other in order to keep out the wild pigs which infest the country.....The planting is done in the most primitive way, commonly by making a hole in the ground with a machete or by using a forked stick as a plow....." (1)

A - Sugar. Sugar, the leading export, is the principal product of the southern portion of the Republic. Most of the large plantations are located in the vicinity of San Pedro de Macoris, which is in the heart of the sugar region and the most modern city of the Republic with scarcely a building of any kind more than 30 years old. To these large plantations the city owes its rapid development. These represent a value of millions of dollars, are equipped with plantation railroads and modern mills and extend over thousands of acres of the plains behind the city. One of the largest sugar estates of the Republic is the Central Romana,

(1) The book from which this quotation was taken, was published in 1918.

which controls some 40,000 acres near the port of La Romana, and is owned by the South Porto Rico Sugar Company.

So rich are the Dominican lands that cane will grow from the same root for ten and even twenty years, while in Puerto Rico and the lesser Antilles long cultivation has exhausted the soil and replanting is necessary every three years. Most of the Dominican sugar goes to the United States and a large portion is eventually sold in Canada and England.

B - Cacao. While sugar attracts the foreigner, the Dominican's favorite staple has been cacao. Cacao has been called the poor man's crop in that it can be produced with profit on a small scale along with other crops. Yet the production on a large scale and without regard to auxiliary crops is also profitable. The Dominican product is of high grade as is typified by cacao grown on a plantation situated near Sabana de la Mar. As ordinarily produced, cacao is planted in the wet seasons, spring and fall. Two or three seeds are dropped in hills, 9 or 10 feet apart each way. When the plants are about knee high they are thinned,

leaving only one plant to the hill. Many Dominicans, however, allow all the plants to grow, which results in dwarfage and inferiority of product. In earlier stages the plants require protection from the sun which is secured by planting cassava alongside the cacao. The larger spaces between the hills are used to grow corn, beans, tobacco and other crops. It has been found to be a better method to grow the seedlings in plant beds and transplant them when about eight months old. The tree begins to bear in about three years, but does not attain maturity until five years later. About two pound of dried beans to the tree is the usual Dominican production, and at this quantity cacao is said to be the most profitable crop that the small land holder can produce. The exports amount to thousands of long tons a year and represent a value of several millions of dollars. "The principal cacao region is the Cibao and the upper Seibo plain, and the largest plantation, belonging to the well-known Swiss chocolate manufacturer, Suchard, is situated near Sabana la Mar, on the south side of Samana Bay. The cacao here produced is not of the finest grade, such as that grown in Ecuador, but goes to make the

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cheaper grades of chocolate. The ease with which cacao is planted and the profits to be derived from it often cause the small farmers to neglect everything else for cacao and purchase articles of food which they could themselves raise. The consequence is that when the cacao crop fails, there is widespread want and discontent." (1)

C - Tobacco. Tobacco is the next largest export crop from the Dominican Republic and it is also a small farmer's product. A considerable part of the production is consumed in the country. Tobacco forms the exception to the general rule of the country's exports which have their chief market in the United States. Dominican tobacco is largely exported to Europe, France and Germany taking the greater quantities. The cultivation of tobacco is confined to the Cibao region, where it was grown by the Indians when the Spaniards landed. The effort of the countrymen to produce quantity rather than quality has prevented the development of the finer grades and the price paid for Dominican tobacco is low.

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a future," page 155.

D - Coffee. Coffee is another native crop the development of which has been checked by the popularity of cacao. However, coffee growing has made considerable gains in recent years. The coffee of Santo Domingo is of excellent quality. In normal times the greater portion was exported to France and Germany, but most of it now goes to the United States.

IX - COMMERCE

Most of the trade of the Dominican Republic is carried with the United States, which, as mentioned before, in 1905 in accordance with a friendly treaty assumed charge of the customs in an effort to bring about a settlement of the obligations of citizens to foreigners doing business in the Republic. The following is a table of the Imports and Exports for the years 1929-1933:

: Year :	Imports :	Exports :
: 1929 :	: 22,729,444 :	: 23,736,498 :
: 1930 :	: 15,229,219 :	: 18,551,148 :
: 1931 :	: 10,151,762 :	: 13,067,162 :
: 1932 :	: 7,794,343 :	: 11,164,271 :
: 1933 :	: 9,322,688 :	: 9,625,473 :
: :	: :	: :

The following table shows the trade with the United States during the same years:

: Year :	Imports :	Exports :
: 1929 :	: 14,189,681 :	: 8,465,360 :
: 1930 :	: 9,270,704 :	: 7,254,551 :
: 1931 :	: 6,009,947 :	: 5,126,225 :
: 1932 :	: 4,630,232 :	: 3,380,308 :
: 1933 :	: 5,519,493 :	: 3,279,352 :

X - EDUCATION

"As in other Spanish colonies, it was not the policy of the Spanish government in Santo Domingo to foster popular education. Learning was confined to the clergy and the aristocracy and was imparted only by servants of the church. As early as 1538 the Dominican friars obtained a papal bull for the establishment of a university, and in 1558 the institution known as the University of St. Thomas of Aquino was inaugurated by them in Santo Domingo City, with faculties of medicine, philosophy, theology and law, the principal branch being theology. This university acquired considerable celebrity, but practically disappeared during the colony's decline, being revived by royal decree of

May 26, 1747, which gave it the title of Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Domingo. The cession of the island to France and the wars which followed weakened the famous institution, which was definitely closed by the Haitians when they assumed control of the government. The Haitian occupation and the civil disorders of the first forty years of the Republic were not propitious for the spreading of education. Beyond a theological seminary founded in 1848, there were only a few humble public and private schools, leading a precarious existence. An eminent Puerto Rican educator, Eugenio M. de Hostos, was responsible for the intellectual renaissance of Santo Domingo. A prominent Dominican historian, Americo Lugo, says: 'I believe that what may be called national literature does not begin until after the arrival in the Republic of the eminent educator Eugenio M. de Hostos'. (1)

At the present time public instruction is under the control of the National Council of Education, of which the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction is ex officio chairman, and the General Superintendent

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future", pp.197-98.

of Instruction is secretary. The General Superintendent, through five departmental superintendents and a corps of inspectors, controls all grades of schools below the University. There are departmental and local boards of education having limited powers. Public education is official or semi-official, according to whether or not it is entirely supported by public funds. The Organic Law of Public Instruction, promulgated in 1918, classifies schools as primary, secondary, normal, vocational, special (including the mentally and physically defective and adult illiterates) and those of university grade. Primary education is free and compulsory for children from 7 to 13 years of age, wherever there are schools. Higher education is given at the Central University of Santo Domingo, which now has schools of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and engineering. There were in 1932 522 primary schools in the Republic with 1,115 teachers and 57,061 pupils enrolled. School expenditures in 1931 were \$700,233.

XI - RELIGION

The Roman Catholic religion is now the recognized state religion. In 1884 the Dominican

government entered into an agreement with the Holy See according to the terms of which the archbishop of Santo Domingo is to be appointed by the Pope from a list of three names, native Dominicans or residents of the Republic, submitted by the Dominican Congress, which in turn engaged to pay the salary of the archbishop and certain other officials. Although the religion of the State is the Roman Catholic, religious toleration prevails in Santo Domingo.

XII - THE PEOPLE

The population of Santo Domingo is a race of mixed European, African and Indian blood. As in the other West India Islands the population is principally rural. There are probably not more than a dozen towns in the Republic with more than 1,500 inhabitants.

A - Aborigines. "At the time of its discovery the island of Santo Domingo was thickly inhabited. The native Indians were Arawaks belonging to the same race as those who occupied the other larger West India Islands. Unlike the fierce Caribs who inhabited some of the smaller Antilles, the Arawaks were of a gentle and meek disposition. They were inclined to idleness and sensuality.

Columbus lauded their kindliness and generosity; the possession of these traits, however, did not prevent them from fighting bravely when exasperated. Living in the stone age, they knew none of the useful metals, but gold ornaments were used for adornment. Older men and married women wore short aprons of cotton or feathers; all other persons went entirely nude. Their favorite amusements were ball games and savage dances with weird, monotonous music; their religion was the worship of a great spirit and of subordinate deities represented by idols, called zemis, carved of wood and stone in grotesque form, and of which some are still occasionally found in caverns or tombs. They dwelt in rude palm-thatched huts, the principal article of furniture being the hammock. Simple agriculture, hunting and fishing provided their means of livelihood. The natives called the island Haiti, signifying high ground, but the western portion was also called Babeque or Bohio, meaning land of gold and the eastern part Quisqueya, meaning mother of the earth. The name Quisqueya is the one by which Dominican poets now refer to their country. The inhabitants lived in communities ruled by local caciques, and the country was

divided into five principal regions, each under an absolute chief cacique." (1)

B - The people of today. No matter whether they are black, brown, or white, the Dominicans are a pleasant people and immeasurably superior in every way to their Haitien neighbors and to many of the other West Indians. Many of the Dominicans are highly educated in the great universities of Europe and America and among them are artists, authors, poets, musicians, historians, engineers, diplomats, soldiers, clergymen, sculptors, and architects that would be a credit to any country.

The Dominicans have few native customs, their greatest national peculiarity being their fondness for revolutions. In one way, however, the Dominican revolutionists excel those of all other Spanish American countries: they seldom molest foreigners or injure their property. Of all amusements there is none which appeals so strongly to every class of the population as dancing. Every public holiday is an excuse for the giving of a baile or dance, and when holidays are scarce the baile is arranged anyhow.

(1) "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future," Pp.1-2.

Waltz music is popular but the favorite dance music is the pretty Puerto Rican danza, which is kin to Mexican airs and to the Cuban guaracha, and "may be compared to a flowing brook, now gliding along serenely, now rushing in cascades." The dances are often interrupted by the serving of sweets and ices.

XIII - THE FUTURE OF SANTO DOMINGO

It is easy to predict the economic future of Santo Domingo. There will probably never be much manufacturing but agriculture will increase with enormous strides assisted by streams of foreign capital which will not be slow to realize the exceptional opportunities offered. The extension of agriculture will stimulate commerce and augment the wealth of the people. Within a few years, the island will probably become one of the richest gardens of the West Indies.

I cannot think of a more adequate conclusion than the last paragraph of the often quoted "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future", which beautifully and fittingly, tells us what we may expect of the Island.

"The curtain has gone down upon the epoch of revolutions, conspiracies, civil wars and destruction. That period belongs to the past as definitely as the era of freebooters and pirates. A new era has begun for beautiful Quisqueya, in which, under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, it is destined to enjoy a greater measure of freedom, progress and prosperity than its inhabitants have ever dreamed."

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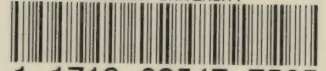
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